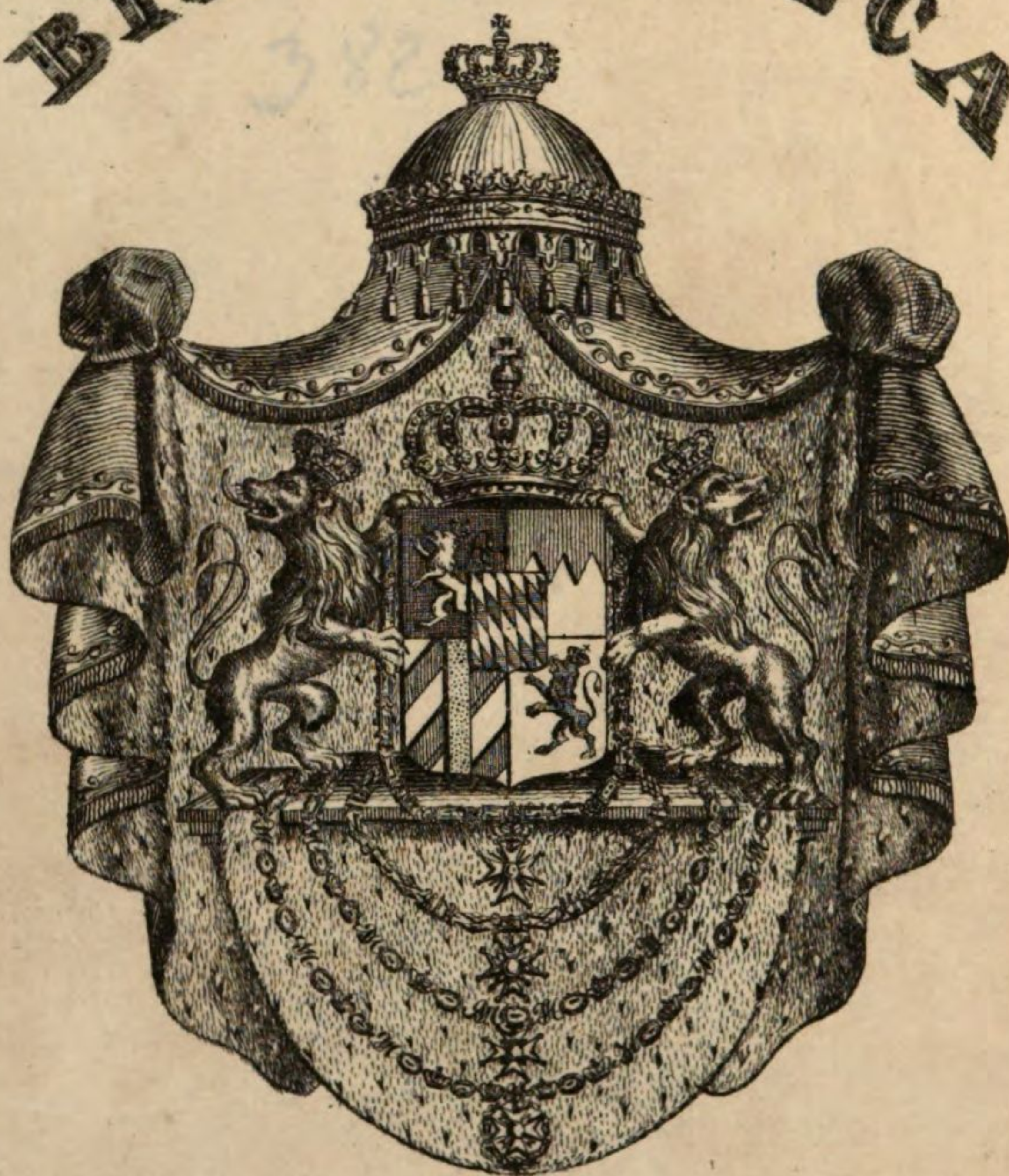




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S E C R E T
M E M O I R S

O F

Robert Dudley,

Earl of *LEICESTER*,
Prime Minister and *Favourite*

O F

Queen *Elizabeth*.

C O N T A I N I N G

An *Instructive Account* of his *Ambition*,
Designs, *Intrigues*, *Excessive Power* ; His
Engrossing the QUEEN, with the *Dange-*
rous Consequence of that *Practice*, &c.

Written during his Life, and now *Pub-*
lished from an *Old Manuscript* never
Printed.

To which is added a P R E F A C E
by D^r. D R A K E.

L O N D O N , Printed for *Sam. Briscoe*, and
Sold by *Ben. Bragg*, at the *Blue-ball* in *Ave-Mary-*
Lane. 1706.

MEMORANDUM
TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
NAVY

RE: [illegible]

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THE
EPISTLE
PREFATORY.

TO

R——— S——— Esq;

S I R,

ALL the Account that I can give of these *Memoirs*, I send you here. That the following Sheets were written during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, appears from the tenour of the whole History, which concludes before his coming to be Governor of the *Low Countreys*, whither he was sent by Queen *Elizabeth*, as General of the Auxiliary Forces, which she sent to the Relief of the *Estates* of the *Confederate* Provinces. No higher Title did the Queen bestow upon him; but the *States* (as both *Grotius* and *Strada* informs) knowing or believing his Power to be irresistible with Queen *Elizabeth*, and hoping by his means to draw

A 2 her

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her intirely into the War, resolv'd to lay a sufficient Bait for his Ambition, and to offer him that Sovereignty, with a Title somewhat lower than that which his Mistress had refus'd, and made him *Supream Governor*, or *Stat-holder* of the *United Provinces*, with a Power much Superior to any that has been exercis'd by the succeeding *Stat-holders*.

This was the last Scene of his Ambition, in which how dexterously he acted his part, is hard to say. For our own *Historians* have reported little of his Transactions abroad, and *Grotius* and *Strada*, who have given the largest Accounts, are so manifestly partial and unjust, both to the *Queen*, and the whole *English Nation*, that we may reasonably suspect their Relations of him, whom his Country-men in his time more immediately fear'd and hated.

The Partiality of the first of these, springs manifestly from a desire to cover the notorious Ingratitude of his Country-men to *Queen Elizabeth*, and the *English Nation*, to whose generous and disinterested assistance, they entirely owe the Establishment of their Liberty and Religion, and the Excussion of the *Spanish Yoke*. For this Reason, he not only gives a very
unjust

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unjust Character of the *English* in general, but wherever the course of this History obliges him to Record their Actions, and to acknowledge the Obligations the *Dutch* had to them, he always mixes some oblique sinister Infinnuation, which may either tarnish the Glory of the Action, or at least by loading it with some foul under-hand Design, may lighten the obligation thereby laid upon the *Dutch*.

The latter was an *Italian Jesuit*, employ'd by, and in the Pay of *Spain*, and consequently the *English*, upon a double score, could expect no fair Representation from him, who hated them both as *Hereticks* accounted, and as Enemies to *Spain*. But besides the Disadvantages the Earl of *Leicester* lies under with these two Historians, upon the score of his Nation, they had each of them their particular piques to him: The first because he exercis'd the invidious Power of a *Stat-holder*, to which *Grotius* never was a hearty Friend, and the latter, because he was sent in opposition to the Prince of *Parma*, whom in his History he flatters immoderately, and to raise his Character (which was really great enough not to want such Arts) de-

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presses the Merits of all others. However, they both agree that he was Master of very great Vertues, or at least seem'd to be. *Egregius virtutum simulator, & qui invisos, atque infelices, Dudleiae Gentis Spiritus haud ingrata Comitate velaret; an exquisite Hypocrite, that was able to cover the odious unhappy temper of the Dudley Family, with good Manners and Affability, says Grotius. Versatilis viri solertia, qua erat Histrio multorum partium, facile ad aliorum mores & vota factitium, ingenium circumflectebat, He was, says Strada, such an absolute Master of his own Temper, that he could as he pleas'd, adapt it to any Man's Humour or Designs. Agreeable to this Mezaray calls him adroit & ruse' Courtisan, a subtle dexterous Courtier, all which argues him to have been a Man of great Abilities, tho' perhaps the use he made of them, contracted such a general Hatred and Envy, as made People suppress his real Vertues, or impute them to Arttifice and Design, which might however spring from a generous Disposition.*

What ever the Reason was, both Grotius and Strada, by the large elaborate Character, which each gives of him, prepare us for greater things, then they after-

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afterwards recount of him; which gives us just ground to suspect, that they have partially and invidiously suppress that part of his Administration of the *Low-Countrys*, which might tend most to the advantage of his Character. In this Conjecture we are confirm'd by our Observation, that both these Historians, after having described him such both for Person and Parts, for Accomplishments natural and acquir'd, as might justly raise great Expectations of him, are more solicitous to publish his Crimes done out of the Sphere of their History, (which whether truly or falsely the Malice of his Country-men had furnish'd them with) and to display his Ambition, than to Register any actions of his there, worthy the Character they give of him, or answering the expectations themselves had rais'd in us.

However, it is on all hands agreed, that he was a Man of a very comly Person, a noble and graceful aspect, an engaging behaviour and courtly address, and of a Wit capable at once of entertaining agreeably, and designing deeply, which together with a Delivery and Presence, which had in 'em something at once great and engaging, commanded at-

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tention and respect. *Inerat vultui Sermonique amœna quædam Majestas*, says *Grotius* of him, than which no one natural endowment fits a Man more for Popularity; and accordingly the same Historian informs us, *that at his first arrival he gain'd the Hearts both of the Nobility and People.* Yet all this ended in an abortive design upon the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*, in which it is more reasonable to believe, that the bright Parts are invidiously suppress'd by the Relaters, than that there were not many shining strokes of Politicks in so great a Design, laid and managed by so able a Head. That such there were, his gaining the Clergy and People so intirely, is a sufficient Argument, that both the Historians, more sollicitous of Recording Events, (according to the vulgar Method of those that write History) have neglected the more instructive part, which is the means that he us'd in so great an attempt.

But 'tis probable, that neither the Power of the *Spaniard*, nor the Fickleness of the *Dutch Nobility*, who began to Cabal against him, were sufficient to oblige him to abandon a Design, that flatter'd his Ambition so much; but that it was either his own fear of being supplanted

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in the favour of his Mistress at home, or the Jealousie, which those that envied his Greatness, ~~and~~ fear'd that such an accession might establish it, that occasion'd his being recall'd. Such a Design was undoubtedly suitable to his vast Ambition; and could he have manag'd his Mistress into a Consent, the Success had not been very doubtful. For as he had entirely won the Hearts of the Populace and Clergy; the Faction of the Nobility however reluctant, could not have withstood the Force, which he might at pleasure have pour'd in from *England*. It is therefore more than probable, that his Disappointment came only from hence, and that Queen *Elizabeth* who would not suffer his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*, to accept the Crown of *Poland*, might likewise deny him a Sovereignty, which she thought fit her self to refuse.

Several good Reasons might be given, why she wou'd not permit *Leicester* to take, that she her self had declin'd to accept. First, he could not have succeeded without her engaging heartily and intirely in his Support, which wou'd have brought *England* to have been Principal in that War, and consequently have brought

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brought it into the main expence to avoid which she had her self refus'd the Sovereignty, and did again soon after. *Grotius*, who abounds in oblique insinuations, to the Dishonour of that Queen, and this Nation endeavours to fix a Suspicion upon her, as if the attempts of *Leicester* were under-hand encourag'd by her, and undertaken for her, *Nec tamen quorundam effugit suspiciones, quasi consensu Publico delatum honorem & recusatum Plebis, ac Militum seditionibus debere mallet.* This is a plain spice of that malignity, which this Author manifests towards this Nation upon all occasions. For had the Queen been ambitious of adding those Provinces to her Dominions, they were twice offer'd her by solemn Embassy, and her Parliament (as himself confesses) had advis'd the acceptance, and promis'd Supplies to maintain it, And, considering the universal affection and inclination of the People of those Provinces to submit themselves to her, it had been impossible for any of the Nobility, that shou'd have oppos'd her Design, to have withstood the Rage of the People, back'd by such Forces as she had there, or might have sent over.

But

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But perhaps, the Queen was as jealous of *Leicester*, and as willing to give a check to his Ambition, as they could be. He had aspired to the Queen's Bed; and though the Sovereignty of those Provinces might of it self be a Bait sufficient to tempt a Man of his Ambition; Yet perhaps it might be the more alluring to him, as it had been before to the Duke of *Alençon*, as a probable step to that Match, of which he had been so long ambitious. This the Queen, who, out of Jealousie of dividing her Power and Authority, had rejected all the Matches, that had been offered her, was resolv'd to prevent, and would not engage the Nation in a War upon the Score of a Subject, which she had refus'd to do upon her own.

That *Leicester* did entertain such hopes, not only the following Sheets, which carry manifest Tokens of being the oldest account of him, but all Historians, Domestick and Foreign agree; and that those hopes drew him into at least the Suspicion of committing divers Crimes, wherewith he stands charg'd, not only in the following Sheets, but in most Historians, that have had occasion to mention him, and might speak of him without Fear, amongst whom

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whom I find such Harmony with the following Papers, that it has mov'd me to doubt, whether they had not been seen by those Historians, and whether those Particulars, which they give of him, were not drawn from 'em. That these Papers were Written before he was made Governor of the *United Provinces*, may fairly be collected from their Silence on that Article, which was too plausible a Topick for Accusation to have been omitted by an Enemy; and such this Writer seems to be. And that these were not Written for *Closet Memoirs*, appears by the Stile and Manner of them, and therefore it is not improbable, that though the Fear of his Power hindred them from appearing Publickly, that they might creep about privately in Manuscript, and so reach even to Foreign Parts.

These Memoirs charge theth Earl of *Leicester* with divers Crimes, and in this Country, where such things are not usually practised, appear very horrid, and almost incredible, which nevertheless seem to have found Credit abroad, where the Practises of inordinate Ambition are better known; insomuch that *Mezeray*, in that short Account, which he gives of the Earl of *Leicester*, mentions particularly

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larly two or three Facts recited in these Memoirs, and seems to point at others. He is here said to have procur'd the Death of his *Wife*, and the Poisoning of the Earl of *Essex*, and first to have attempted to Poison, and then to Assassinate Monsieur *Simier*, for discovering to the *Queen* his Marriage with the Countess of *Essex*. To the two first, he seems only to point indefinitely in the Character that he gives of him. *Leicester, homme de peu de noblesse, a ce qu'on luy reprochoit, & capable de tous crimes pour satisfaire son ambition & sa paillardie, au reste adroit & ruse Courtisan.* In which Character, by reproaching him with *Sticking at no Crime* to satisfy either his *Ambition* or *Lust*. This Historian seems to point at his two principal Blemishes (if he was really guilty.) The *Murder* of his *Wife*, and of the Earl of *Essex*; the first Sacrific'd to his Ambition, to make way for his Pretensions to the *Queen*; the latter to his Lust. But in the particular of Monsieur *Simier*, the *French* Author agrees so exactly with these *Memoirs*, that but for the difference between 'em in the Persons, whom they name as appointed to commit the Assassinate, (the *Memoirs* naming one *Robin Tyder*, and *Mezeray* one

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one *Fervagues*,) I should have thought he had taken the Story from hence. Both agree that *Simier* was Embassador from the Duke of *Alencon* to the *Queen*, sent to Negotiate the Marriage between 'em, and that *Leicester* attempted, first to Poison him, and then to have him Assassinated, for having discovered to the *Queen* his Marriage to the Countess Dowager of *Essex*. One thing however must not be forgotten in justification of the Earl, tho' it may shake a little the Credit of these *Memoirs*, which is, that Cardinal *Chatillion*, who had Negotiated the like Affair before Monsieur *Simier*, dying of Poison upon his Return at *Southampton*, as *Mezeray* says, at *Canterbury*, according to these *Memoirs*, which do (with an, *as it is thought*) endeavour to lay the Guilt of it upon the *Earl*, whereas *Mezeray*, who seems to have been not at all inclined to spare him, relates the Circumstances of the *Cardinal's* Death, and of the Execution and Confession of his Servant afterwards at the Gallows in *France*, yet does not in the least squint upon the *Earl*, as guilty of the Fact. On the other hand, it is not improbable, that the Death of the *Cardinal* was procur'd by Order of the Court of *France*, or at least of the *Faction* of the *League*, for
en-

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endeavouring to promote a Match between the King of *Navarr* and the Queen of *England*, which the Court of *France*, and *that* Faction were as much concern'd to disappoint, as the Earl of *Leicester* himself.

Upon the same Foot of Credit stands the Account of his intended Assassination of the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Poisoning of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*; both which Facts are particularly told, especially that of the Earl of *Ormond*, in which, not only the Occasion and Manner of the Attempt are exactly deliver'd, and the Name and Reward of the design'd Assassin set down, and all is backt with an Appeal to the Earl of *Ormond*, himself, then living, for the whole Truth of the Story. Yet since that Voucher is not now to be consulted, and the Fact, tho' so considerable is not Register'd by other Authors, it rests upon the single Credit of the Writer of these *Memoirs*, whose Name, we not knowing, are able to say no more of him, than that by the Bitterness of his Expressions, and the raking together so many foul Facts, we may be sure, that he was an implacable Enemy of the Earl of *Leicester*, or at least

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least a Retainer to some great Person that was. However, the Elegancy and Perspicuity of his Stile for that time, the Strength of his Reasoning, and the Depth of his Judgment, as well as the Solidity and Extent of his Reflections, which seem Prophetically to reach many Cases, even in our Times; plainly shew him to have been a Person of great Abilities and Experience, as his Acquaintance with the Intrigues of great Men, and the Secret Affairs of State, but especially such a daring and dangerous Attempt upon the Favorite in the height of his Posterity, from whom, considering the number of his Spies, he could not expect to be long conceal'd, argue him to have been a Man of Interest and Employment, as well as Courage, to whom such things could be so minutely known, and who dar'd to utter 'em in such a manner, at that time, when few People thought it safe so much as to whisper any thing to the Disadvantage of the Earl of Leicester.

The other Actions of the Earl of Leicester, put down in these *Memoirs*, may perhaps have been somewhat strain'd, as 'tis probable they always will, when related

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lated by a professed Adversary, which Consideration apart, I see no great reason to question the Truth of Facts laid down. For, as they are in the Main, no more than a Man can expect from a Person of his Character, so they only shew us to what an Excess of Presumption and Extravagance, immoderate Ambition will rise, when buoy'd up and supported by Exorbitant Favour, of which parallel Instances might be given from the History and Observation of all Times and Nations.

That, which seems to me most strange in all his Story, is, that he having offered so much Matter for History should nevertheless employ so few Pages of it, and these almost all within one Year only of his Life, and that spent too in a Foreign Part, and best and most largely Written by Foreign Historians, who were ignorant (as appears by these *Memoirs*) of the most instructive part of his Life. The Ministry of *Wolsey*, *Cromwell* and other great Ministers and Favourites make some Figure in our History (tho' perhaps nothing like what they ought) but *Leicester's*, whose Influence, Power and Authority exceeded 'em all, both in

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Extent and Duration is past over in Silence, or slubber'd negligently o'er with a general Abstract: ' That he was the
' Son of a Father, that lost his Head
' for Treason; in which himself too
' was involved and condemned to die;
' but that he was pardoned by Queen
' *Elizabeth*, and restored in Blood, taken into her Favour, made Master of
' Her Horse, *Lord Denbigh* and *Earl of*
' *Leicester*; that he was a Man of a beautiful Person, a Noble Deportment, fine
' Address, ingaging Conversation, ready Wit, great Cunning, and unbounded
' Ambition; that he was an Encourager
' of *Soldiers* and *Scholars*, was recommended for a *Husband* to the *Queen* of
' *Scots*, pretended to the *Queen* of *England*, disappointed all his Rivals, and
' broke all Matches propos'd, got to be
' *Statholder* and *Captain General* of the
' *United Provinces*, aim'd at the Sovereignty, was recall'd by the *Queen*,
' made *Captain General* of all Her *Land*
' *Forces*, and died at last in full Possession
' of Her Favour, without ever arriving
' at the Point, to which his Ambition
' tended, or suffering any one to arrive
' at it.

This

The Epistle prefatory.

This Summary Account, however short and unsatisfactory, is to all Intents and Purposes, as full and sufficient as our Histories, or those of other Countries afford, in which we find only a Character and Description of his Person and Disposition, with a jejune Relation of some of the Principal Events, in which he was concern'd, which amount to little more than a bare Enumeration, so that almost as good a History of him might have been drawn upon Canvass.

The little notice that is taken of the Transactions of so great, so durable, and so absolute a Favorite, in so prosperous and celebrated a Reign, is none of the least Instances, how perfunctorily our History is written, when one of the most surprizing parts of our Story is either so little understood, or so industriously suppressed by the Writers of our own Country, and when all that we know of so great a Statesman is what has been clandestinely transmitted to us.

It is strange, that so many great and enormous Outrages of an irregular violent Ambition and Lust, as well as the many Finesses, that he must have used to preserve his Credit with a Princess, so

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discerning and so jealous as Queen *Elizabeth*, shou'd escape the publick notice of History; and that such Acts of Power, so extraordinary, and so invidious in a Subject, as to provoke 'em to be so severely reflected on in his own time, while the height of his Credit made it dangerous, to speak the plain Truth of him, shou'd find no one Authentically to Record 'em, after his Death, had made Truth secure, and Flattery unprofitable. Two or three Conjectural Reasons might be offer'd for this Silence, which, if admitted, make for the Credit of these *Memoirs*; either that the Power of some Surviving Great Men, who were engaged with him, or rais'd by him, might last so long as to Awe Men till the Subject was Antiquated, and Men no longer curious, or inquisitive about him; or that his Interest in the Learned Men of that Time, of whom he is said to have been a Patron, prevailed with them to be silent, concerning a Benefactor, of whom Gratitude would not suffer 'em to speak Ill nor Truth to speak well. Or, lastly, the great Reverence, which every Body bare to his

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his Nephew Sir Philip Sidney's Memory.

However, after his Death, came out a Poem, called *Leicester's Ghost*, which, not only avers all the Particulars, which are contain'd in these *Memoirs*, but recites divers other things which seem to have been Transacted by him, since the Writing of those Papers; and though that Poem pretend to a great deal of Fairness and Impartiality, and Cites these *Memoirs*, as an account of which all was not to be received, yet it is so far from proving any part to be untrue, that it does in a manner vouch every thing by the Repetition and feigned Confession out of the Mouth of the Ghost; however it seems a fair Proof, that this Piece, whether Written impartially or not, was the Genuine Product of these Times. That Poem appears to be Written not long after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and to Comprize this History, to which the Poet affects the Character of Impartial, as appears by the following Lines.

*I am not Partial, but give him his
(due,
And to his Soul I wish Eternal Health :*

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Nor do I think all Written Tales are
(true
That are inserted in his Common-
(wealth:
What others Wrote before, I do survive,
But am not like to those incens'd with
(Hate,
And I as plainly Write, so do I strive
To Write the Truth, not wronging his
(Estate,
Of whom it may be said, and censur'd
(well,
He both in Vice and Virtue did excel.

If the Poet's Character of himself, and his own Sincerity be true, there cannot be a greater Justification of these *Memoirs*, notwithstanding he does not believe all things inserted in 'em be true. For if he did believe all to be true, that he has thought fit to repeat, there is not a material Circumstance of any Moment in 'em, which he does not vouch.

That the Author of these Verses was alive in the time of *Leicester*, may be argued, not only from the old Stile and Manner, but by that Phrase in the Verses here cited; *I do survive*, which imply's

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ply's Out-living, a Term not used by, or of, *Cotemporaries*.

From hence we may gather how lamely or partially the History of these Times have been Written, and may safely conclude, that with proper Grains of Allowance, these *Memoirs*, by whomsoever Written, are no contemptible Piece of History, since they give us light into such remarkable Transactions, concerning which we had been absolutely in the dark without 'em.

There is an old *English* Book, Written about the time, that these *Memoirs* seem to have been, which now passes through the Hands of old Women and Children only, and is taken for a pleasant delightful Tale, but is by wiser Heads thought to be an Enigmatical History of the Earl of *Leicester* and his Family, which he that compares with these *Memoirs*, will not take to be an idle Conjecture, there are so many Passages so easily illustrable, by comparing it with these *Memoirs*. The Book, I mean, is the *History of Reynard the Fox*, in which the Author, not daring to Write his History plainly, probably, for fear of his Power, has shadowed his Exploits un-

The Epistle Prefatory.

der the feigned Adventures and Intrigues of Brutes, in which, not only the Violence and Rapaciousness, but especially the Craft and Dissimulation of the Earl of *Leicester* is excellently set forth.

If he was guilty of half what these *Memoirs* charge him with, or even of what Foreign Histories mention, he must have been Master of greater Cunning than any Minister, that this Nation has ever produced, either before or since him, not only to have defended himself, but to have maintained his Power and Greatness to the last, under such an Accumulation of excessive Guilt and Envy.

The exorbitant Credit and Power which this Favourite had arrived to by Queen *Elizabeth*, had been sufficient to have overthrown and ruined at any time any Man of less ability to manage it than he, and his Insolence alone would have drawn upon him such a powerful weight of Disgust, as would have crushed any other Person. He had at one time so intirely Engrossed the *Queen* to himself, that scarce any body had Access to Her, none received any Favours from Her, but through his Means. Her Domesticks,
Her

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Her Council, and generally almost all Her Officers were his Creatures, and of his raising, and whoever had the Courage to oppose or thwart his Designs, rarely escaped his Revenge, of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Sussex*, two of our greatest Noblemen were mighty Instances. On this Success of Favour, he surfeited, even to Riot; so that as *Mezeray* reports, that he used to make it his Boast among his Friends, *that like an other Vulcan, he had taken the Queen in Toils unseen, and would keep her in a sure, though invisible Prison.* This must be meant of the Guard of his own Creatures, Spies and Dependants which he had planted about Her, by whom he hoped to manage her as he pleased; an Attempt, however it succeeded with him, has been fatal to almost all that have ever attempted it before or since, either in this, or any other Country, and can scarce be justified in any Person to Prudence, who has no design to usurp the Sovereignty, and to fix it in himself or his Family. But it appears, that the Father of this Man attempted to bring the Crown into his Family, by the Match which he made between the
Lady

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Lady *Jane Gray* and his Eldest Son the Lord *Guilford*, and then endeavouring to set her Title up against that of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, which Attempt cost that Lady (otherwise very much to be bewailed) himself and his Son their Heads upon a Scaffold. These *Memoirs* accuse his Son of the same Design, tho' Providence did not suffer his Plot to ripen so far as his Fathers. Yet it shews that Ambition (which would not suffer him to take warning by the narrow escape he had from his Father's Fate) was his predominate Passion, and that he still drove on to the same End, tho' as he does not appear to have been so brave, so he managed with more Caution, which perhaps was his Security.

His Ambition however hurried him on to those things (not including the Blood wherewith he is charged, nor his double Marriage with the Lady *Sheffeld* and the Lady *Essex*, by the former of which his Descendents are yet alive) which have generally been fatal to Presumptuous Favourites.

Many

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Many Instances might be produced of Favourites, who without being chargeable with any great Crime, have been ruined by their own Insolence and Presumption only. *Peircy, Gaveston, the two Spencers,* and even Cardinal *Woolsey* himself, are instances in our History, not to mention any latter.

But *Monsieur Le Vassor*, in his excellent History of *Lewis* the 13th of *France*, has given us such a perfect instance of the danger of presuming so far upon favour in the Story of the *Mareschal D' Ancre* and his Lady, that scarce a more compleat Example can be set before our Eyes of the Insufficiency of Favour, when invidious Power is insolently used, and thereby Enemies great, numerous and hearty, are provoked to humble it.

Those that can read the Original, will find there a Story, as instructive, and as handsomely told, as any in modern History and Reflections, as just thereupon. He observes, that want of Moderation in Prosperity and Presuming too far upon the Favour of *Mary de Medicis*, Queen Regent of *France*, was the occasion of their Ruin, as that Favour had been of their Rise.

Con-

The Epistle Prefatory.

Conchini, having married a Lady of the Bed-chamber to *Mary de Medicis*, who was her Favourite and Confident, was, through the Interest of his Wife rais'd to the degree of *Mareschal of France*, and thence by means of his Wife, who had an absolute ascendant over the Spirit of the Queen, to be prime Minister, and to dispose of all the Governments and great Places (of which that Court had abundance) to gain Creatures to himself, and to draw off from others such useful Instruments as Preferment could gain. This drew upon him the Envy and Hatred of the Princes of the Blood, and other great Men, who had in Indignation, the excessive Insolence of a Man so suddenly and so highly rais'd, and made them joyn against him, even to the uniting of those, who in every thing else they had separate Views of. They had in vain tryed to abate his Power with the Queen Regent, but that proving unsuccessful, the attempt only rais'd his Presumption, and made him contemn his Adversaries; and being irritated with their opposition to work the Queen up to such a pitch of Resentment, as to arrest the Prince of

Conde,

The Epistle Prefatory.

Conde, the first Prince of the Blood, and whose opposition he most apprehended, and to clap him into the *Bastile*; which stroke (as he thought) of Security, contributed perhaps most to his Ruin. For tho' they who procured it were not of that Prince's Party; yet such an extraordinary act of Power rendred them so fearful of him, that they thought themselves not safe, till they had dispatched him. This was done by Methods so extraordinary and unjustifiable, that had the Cause been sufficient to have warranted the seeking of his Destruction, the means cou'd never have been defended before an impartial Judge. For not content by Assassination to have taken off the *Mareschal*, they formed a Process against his Lady, and having brought her to Tryal and Sentence, with all possible Circumstances of Ignominy, an Aggravation of her Affliction, at last took off her Head, burnt her Body, and scattered her Ashes in the Air. The Historian at the foot of all this account finds nothing real to charge either of them with, but Avarice and Insolence, all the rest of the Accusation, on which their Process was form'd, being manifestly either forg'd or trifling,

10

The Epistle Prefatory.

so that it appears plainly, that unpopular Greatness and Insolence brought them to an end, which they had, not for any attempt against the State deserved. The Historian discharges them from any such Guilt, and thinks that their displacing great Men so freely, to make room for their own Creatures and Dependants was their crime, upon which he makes the following Remarks. *Si 'cest Ea un crime d' Etat, il faut couper desormais la tete a tous les Favoris, a tous les Ministres, a tous ceux qui ont du Credit, a la Cour, C' est un estrange desordre a la Verité, que des Gens Eloignent ou privent des Emplois par des Intrigues, et souvent par des noires Calomnies ceux qui servent, ou qui pourroient servir utilement la Patrie : Mais comment l' empechez v' ous ?*

This is an unsuccessful unfortunate Instance of that which the Earl of *Leicester's* great dexterity carried him triumphantly through.

But whether his Fortune be more inviting than the miscarriages of so many others (under less obnoxious Circumstances) are forbidding, is a matter of so nice Speculation, that Fear or Ambition will probably over-rule the Consideration in those,

The Epistle Prefatory.

those, that may at any time be laid by Fortune, under the like Temptation. However, these Papers supply a great Chasm in our History, and for that they are recommended to your Reading, who have your Liberty to believe of the Fact, as you are convinc'd. The rest of his History is not worth extracting, and it is time to ask your Pardon from

Your humble Servant.

J. D.

In few Days will be Published.

THE Source of our Present Fears Discover'd; or, Plain Proof of some late Designs against our present Constitution and Government; containing, Remarks on some Dangerous Libels and Pamphlets, published of late; Written by the Author of The History of the last Parliament, Price 1 s.

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Lately Published,

AN Essay on the Duke of Marlborough. Sold by B. Bragg at the Blew-ball in Avenary Lane.

T H E

1

THE
INTRODUCTION
OF THE
Conference.

NO I long before last Christmas, I was requested by a Letter from a very Worshipful Grave Gentleman (whose Son was my Pupil in Cambridge) to repair with my said Scholar to a certain House of his near London, and there to pass over the Holy-days in his Company, for that it was determined that in Hillary Term following his said Son should be placed in some Inn of Chancery, to follow the Study of the Common Law, and so to leave the University. This Request was grateful unto me, both in respect of the Time, and also of the Matter, but especially of the Company: For that as I love the young Gentleman my Pupil much for his Towardness in Religion, Learning

B

and

The Introduction.

and Vertue, so much more do I Reverence his Father, for the riper Possession of the same Ornaments, and for his great Wisdom, Experience and Grave Judgment in the Affairs of the World that do occur, but namely, touching our own Country, wherein truly I do not remember to have heard any Man in my life discourse more substantially, indifferently, and with less Passion, more Love and Fidelity than I have heard him: Which was the cause that I took singular delight to be in his Company, and refused no occasion to enjoy the same; which also he perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently With me, than with many other of his Friends, as by the Relation following may well appear. When I came to the aforesaid House by London, I found there among other Friends an ancient Man that professed the Law, and was come from London to keep his Christmas in that Place, with whom at divers former times I had been well acquainted, for that he had haunted much the Company of the said Gentleman my Friend,
and

and was much trusted and used by him in Matters of his Profession, and not a little beloved also for his good Conversation, notwithstanding some difference in Religion also between us. For albeit this Lawyer was inclined to be a Papist, yet was it with such Moderation and Reservation of his Duty towards his Prince, Country and Proceedings of the same, as he seemed always to give full Satisfaction in this Point to us that were of a contrary Opinion: Neither did he let it protest oftentimes with great Affection, that as he had many Friends and Kinsfolks of contrary Religion to himself, yet did he love them never the less for their different Consciences, but leaving it to God was desirous to do them any Service or Friendship he could, with all Affection, Zeal and Fidelity. Neither was he wilful or obstinate in his Opinion, and much less reproachful in Speech (as many of them be) but was content to hear whatsoever we should say to the contrary (as often we did) and to read any Book also that we delivered

The Introduction.

him for his Instruction, which Temperate Behaviour induced this Gentleman and me to affect the more his Company, and to discourse as freely with him in all Occurrences, as if he had been of our Religion.

Secret

Secret Memoirs

O F

Robert Dudley,

Earl of *Leicester*,

Prime Minister and Favorite

O F

Queen *Elizabeth*.

ONE Day then of the *Christmas*, we three retiring our selves after Dinner into a long Gallery for our Recreation (as often as we were accustomed to do, when others went to Cards, and other Pastimes) this *Lawyer* by chance had in his hand a little Book then newly set forth, containing, *A Defence of the Publick Justice done of late in England upon divers Priests and other Papists for Treason.* Which Book the *Lawyer* had read to himself a little before, and was now putting it up into his Pocket: But the Gentleman, my Friend, who had read over the

The Book of Justice.

B 3

fame

same once or twice before in my Company, would needs take the same into his hands again, and asked the *Lawyer* his Judgment upon the Book.

The *Lawyer* answered, that it was not ill Penned in his Opinion, to prove the guiltiness of some Persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in general, That the Papists, both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with Defence and Increase of their Religion, do consequently wish and labour some Change in the Estate; but yet whether so far forth, and in so deep a degree of proper Treason, as here in this Book, both in General and Particular is presumed and inforced, that (*quoth he*) is somewhat hard I ween for you or me (in respect of some other difference betwixt us) to judge or discern with indifferency.

Nay, truly (said the Gentleman) for my part I think not so; for that Treason is Treason in what Religion soever, and for my self, I protest that I bear the honest Papist (if there be any) no Malice for his deceived Conscience, whereof among others, your self can be a Witness; marry his Practices against the State I cannot in any wise digest; and much less may the Common wealth bear the same whereof we all depend, being a Sin of all other the most heinous, and least pardonable: And therefore seeing in this you grant the *Papist* both in general abroad and at home, and in particular such as are Condemned, Executed, and named in this Book to be guilty, how can you insinuate as you do,
that

that there is more presumed and inforced upon them by this Book, than there is just cause to do.

Good Sir (said the *Lawyer*) I stand not here to examin the Deeds of my Superiors, or to defend the Guilty, but wish heartily rather their Punishment that have deserved the same. Only this I say for the Explanation of my former Speech, that Men of a different Religion from the State wherein they live, may be said to deal against the State in two sorts: The one by dealing for the Increase of their said different Religion, which is always either directly or indirectly against the State: Directly, when the said Religion containeth any Point or Article directly impugning the said State, as perhaps you will say, that the *Roman* Religion doth against the State now present in *England* in the Point of *Supremacy*. And indirectly, for every different Religion divideth in a sort, and draweth from the State: In that there is no Man, who in his heart would not wish to have the chief Governor and State to be of his Religion if he could, and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that: And in this kind, not only those whom you call *Busie Papists* in *England*, but also those whom we call *Hot Puritans* among you (whose difference from the State, especially in Matters of Government is very well known) may be called all Traytors in my Opinion: For that every one of these indeed do labour indirectly (if not more) against the State, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to in-

Two sorts
of Deal-
ings a-
gainst the
State.

Direct.

Indirect.

crease his *Party* or *Faction*, that desireth a *Governor* of his own *Religion*.

The Estates of Subjects in a State of different Religion. And in this Case also are the *Protestants* in *France* and *Flanders* under *Catholick* Princes and *Calvinists* (as they are called) under the Duke of *Saxony*, who is a *Lutheran*, the *Lutherans* under *Casimire* that favoureth the *Calvinists*; the *Grecians* and other *Christians* under the Emperor of *Constantinople*, under the *Sophy*, under the Great *Cham* of *Tartary*, and other Princes that agree not with them in Religion. All which Subjects do wish (no doubt) in their Hearts, that they had a Prince and State of their own Religion instead of him which now governeth them, and consequently in this first Sense, they may be called all Traytors, and every Act they do for Advancement of their said different Religion (dividing between the State and them) tendeth to Treason, which their Princes supposing, do sometimes make divers of their Acts Treasonable, or Punishable for Treason: But yet as long as they break not forth into the second kind of Treason, which containeth some actual Attempt, or Treaty against the Life of the Prince or the State by Rebellion, or otherwise, we do not properly condemn them for Traytors, though they do some Acts of their Religion, made Treason by the Princes Laws, who is of a different Faith.

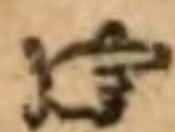
And so to apply this to my purpose, I think, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of Treason, as well the *Zealous Papists*, as also the *Hot Puritans* in *England* may well be

be called and proved Traytors : But in the second sort (whereof we speak properly at this time) it cannot be so precisely answered, for that there may be both guilty and guiltless in each Religion ; and as I cannot excuse *all Puritans* in this Point, so you cannot condemn *all Papists*, as long as you take, me and some others to be as we are.

I grant your Distinctions of Treason to be true (said the Gentleman) as also your Application thereof to the *Papists* and *Puritans*, (as you call them) not to want Reason, if there be any of them that dislike the present State, as perhaps there be. Although for my part I do think these two kinds of Treasons which you have put down to be rather divers Degrees than divers kinds ; wherein I will refer me to the Judgment of our *Cambridge* Friend here present ; whose Skill is more in Logical Distinctions : But yet my Reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree unto the other, not differing in Nature, but rather in Time, Ability and Opportunity, For if (as in the former Examples you have shewed) the *Grecians* under the *Turk*, and other *Christians* under Princes of a different Religion ; and as also the *Papists* and *Puritans* (as you term them) in *England*, (for this word shall pass between us for distinction sake) have such Alienation of Mind for their present Regiment, and do covet so much a Governor and State of their own Religion, then no doubt they are also resolved to imploy their Forces for accomplishing and bringing about their Desires, if they had op-
por-

portunity ; and so being now in the first Degree or Kind of Treason, do want but Occasion or Ability to break into the second.

True, Sir (said the *Lawyer*) if there be no other Cause nor Circumstance that may withhold them.



*Fear of
Forreign
Oppression,
maketh
Peace at
Home.*

And what Cause or Circumstance, I pray you, (said the Gentleman) may keep them, when they shall have Ability and Opportunity to do a thing which they so much desire. Divers Causes (quoth the *Lawyer*) but especially, and above all other (if it be at home in their own Country) the fear of Servitude under Foreign Nations may restrain them from such Attempts as we see in *Germany*, that both the *Catholicks* and the *Protestants* would join together against any Stranger that should offer Danger to their Liberty ; and so they did against *Charles* the 5th. And in *France*, not long ago, albeit, the *Protestants* were up in Arms against their King, and could have been content by the help of us in *England* to have put him down, and placed another of their own Religion : Yet when they saw us once seized of *New-haven*, and so like to proceed to the Recovery of some part of our States on that side the Sea, they quickly joined with their own *Catholicks* again to expel us.

In *Flanders* likewise though *Monsieur* were called thither by the *Protestants*, especially for the Defence of their Religion against the *Spaniards* : Yet we see how dainty divers great and chief *Protestants* of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt* and

and *Bruges*, were so soon as they put them in the least Fear of Subjection to the *French*.

And as for *Portugal*, I have heard some of the chiefest *Catholicks* amongst them say in this last Contention about their Kingdom, that rather than they would suffer the *Castillian* to come in upon them, they would be content to admit whatsoever Aids of a contrary Religion to themselves, or to adventure whatsoever Alteration in Religion, or other Inconvenience might befall them by that means, rather than indanger their Subjection to their Ambitious Neighbour.

The like is reported in divers Histories of the *Grecians* at this day, who do hate so much the Name and Dominion of the *Latins*, as they had rather to endure all the Miseries which daily they suffer under the *Turk* for their Religion, then by calling for Aid from the *West* to hazard their Subjection to the said *Latins*. So that you see by these Examples, that Fear and Horror of External Subjection, may stay Men in all States, and consequently, both *Papists* and *Puritans* in the State of *England*, from passing to the second kind or degree of Treason, albeit, they were never so deep in the first, and had both Ability, Time, Will and Opportunity for the other.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said, that this seemed unto me most clear, and that now I understood what the *Lawyer* meant before, when he affirmed, that albeit, the most part of *Papists* in general might be said to deal against the State of *England* at this day, in that they deal so earnestly for the

The old Hatred of the East Grecians to the West Latins.

the Maintenance and Increase of their Religion, and so to incur some kind of Treason, yet perhaps not so far forth, nor in so deep a degree of proper Treason, as in this Book is presumed or inforced, though for my part, (said I) I do not see that the Book presumeth or inforceth all *Papists* in general to be properly Traytors, but only such as in particular are therein named, or that are by Law Attainted, Condemned or Excluded; and what will you say to those in particular (quoth I.)

Surely (answered the *Lawyer*) I must say of those much after the manner which I spake before, that some here named in this Book are openly known to have been in the second degree or kind of Treason, as *Westmerland*, *Norton*, *Saunders*, and the like: But divers others (namely, the *Priests* and *Seminaries*, which of late have suffered) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their Arraignments, or heard protested by them at their Deaths, or gather by Reason, or Discourse by my self (for that no Foreign Prince, or wise Counsellor would ever commit so great Matters of State to such Instruments.) I cannot, I say, but think, that to the Wise of our State that had the doing of this Business, the first Degree of Treason (wherein, no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away, especially in such suspicious Times as these are, and to the end that being hanged for the first they should never be in danger to fall into the second, nor to draw other Men to the same, which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

After

After the *Lawyer* had spoken this, I held my Peace to hear what the Gentleman would answer, who walked up and down two whole turns in the Gallery without yielding any word again, and then staying, upon the suddain cast his Eyes sadly upon us both, and said.

My Masters, howsoever this be, which indeed appertaineth not unto us to discover or judge of, but rather to perswade our selves, that the State hath reason to do as it doth, and that it must oftentimes as well prevent Inconveniencies as remedy the same, when they are happened: Yet for my part, I must confesse unto you, that upon some Considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small Grief of the Differences amongst us (which you term divers and different Religions) for which we are driven of necessity to use Discipline towards divers, who possibly otherwise would be no great Malefactors. I know the cause of this Difference is grounded upon a Principle not too easie to cure, which is the Judgment and Conscience of a Man, whereunto obeyeth at length his Will and Affection, howsoever he may for a time otherwise dissemble outwardly: I remember your Speech before of the doubtful and dangerous Inclination of those who live discontented in a State of a different Religion especially, when either indeed, or in their own Conceits they are hardly dealt withal, and where every Man's particular Punishment is taken to reach to the Cause of the whole.

I am

I am not ignorant how that Misery procureth Amity, and the Opinion of Calamity moveth Affection of Mercy and Compassion, even towards the Wicked. The better Fortune is always subject to Envy, and he that suffereth is thought to have the better Cause. My Experience of the divers Reigns and Proceedings of King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, and of this our Most Gracious Sovereign hath taught me not a little touching the Sequel of these Affairs. And finally, my good Friends, I must tell you plain (quoth he and this he spake with great Asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either those Differences were not amongst us at all, or else that they were so temperately on all Parts pursued, as the Common State of our Country, the Blessed Reign of Her Majesty, and the Common Cause of true Religion, were not indangered thereby : But now ——— and there he brake off and turn'd aside.

The *Lawyer* seeing him hold his Peace and departed, he stepped after him, and taking him by the Gown, said merrily, Sir, all Men are not of your Complexion, some are of more quick and stirring Spirits, and do love to Fish in Water that is troubled, for that they do participate the Black-moors Humour that dwells in *Guinea* ; whereof I suppose you have heard and seen in this Land, whose Exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch and seek ; the other, and always the stronger to make Money of the weaker for the time. But now if in *England* we should live in Peace and Unity of the State as they

they do in *Germany*, notwithstanding these Differences of Religion, and that the one should not prey upon the other, then should the great Faulcons for the Field, (I mean the Favourites of the Time) fail whereon to feed, which were an Inconvenience as you know.

Truly, Sir, said the Gentleman I think you rove nearer the Mark than you are aware. For if I be not deceived the very ground of much of these Broils whereof we talk is but a very Prey, not in the Mind of the Prince or State, whose Intentions, no doubt be most just and holy, but in the greedy imagination, or subtil Conceit of him, who at this present, in respect of our Sins, is permitted by God to tyrannise both Prince and State; and being himself of no Religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our Differences in Religion, to the fattening of himself, and the Ruin of the Realm. For whereas by the common Distinction now received in Speech, there are *three* notable Differences of Religion in the Land, the *two Extreames* whereof are the *Papists* and the *Puritan*, and the Religious *Protestant* obtaining the Mean, this Fellow being of neither, maketh his Gain of all: And as he seeketh a Kingdom by the one Extream, and spoil by the other, so he useth the Authority of the third, to compass the first two, and the Countertermine of each to the Overthrow of all three.

To this I answered, in good sooth, Sir, I see now where you are, you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary Talk and
Con-

Conference in the *University*. For I know that you mean my Lord of *Leicester*, who is the Subject of all pleasant Discourses at this Day throughout the Realm.

Not so pleasant as pitiful (answered the Gentleman) if all Matters and Circumstances were well considered, except any Man take pleasure to jest at our own Miseries, which are like to be greater by his Iniquity (if God avert it not) than by all the Wickedness of *England* besides, he being the Man that by all probability is like to be the Bane and fatal Destiny of our State, with the Aversion of true Religion, whereof by indirect Means he is the greatest Enemy that the Land doth nourish.

Now, verily (quoth the *Lawyer*) if you say thus much for the *Protestants* Opinion of him, what shall I say for his Merits towards the *Papists*: Who for as much as I can perceive do take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his Gain he was some Years their secret Friend against you, until by his Friends he was perswaded (and chiefly by the Lord *North* by way of Policy, as the said Lord boasteth in hope of greater Gain) to step over to the *Puritans* against us both, whom, notwithstanding it is probable, that he loveth as much as he doth the rest.

You know the Bear's Love (said the Gentleman) which is all for his own Paunch, and this Bear-whelp turneth all to his own Commodity, and for greediness thereof will overturn all if he be not stopped or muzzled in time.

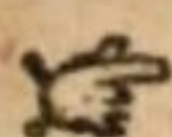
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And surely unto me it is a strange Speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but only that I do attribute it unto the just Punishment of God for our Sins) that in so Wise and Vigilant a State as ours is, and in a Country so well acquainted, and beaten with such Dangers, a Man of such a Spirit as he is known to be, of so extream Ambition, Pride, Falshood and Treachery, so born, so bred up, so nussed in Treasons from his Infancy, descending of a Tribe of Traitors, and Fleshed in Conspiracies against the Royal Blood of King *Henry's* Children in his tender Years, and exercised ever since in Drifts the same, by the Blood and Ruin of divers others, a Man so well known to bear Secret Malice against Her Majesty, for Causes Irreconcilable, and most deadly Canor against the best and wisest Counsellors of her Highness: That such a one, I say, so hateful to God and Man, and so markable to the simplest Subjects of this Land by the Publick Ensigns of his Traiterous Purpose, should be suffered so many Years without Check to aspire to Tyranny by most manifest Ways, and to possess himself (as now he hath done) of Court, Counsel and Country without Controulment, so that nothing wanteth to him but only his Pleasure, the Day already conceived in his Mind to dispose as he list, both of Prince, Crown, Realm and Religion.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it ministreth not a little Mervail unto many, whereof your Worship is not the first, nor the tenth Person of Account, which I

C

have



have heard discourse and complain : But what shall we say hereunto ; there is no Man, that ascribes not this unto the singular Benignity and most Bountiful Nature of Her Majesty, who measuring other Men by her own Heroical and Prince-like Sincerity, cannot easily suspect a Man so much bounden unto Her Grace as he is, nor remove Her Confidence from the Place where She heaped so infinite Benefits.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this Gracious and Sweet Disposition of Her Majesty is the true Original Cause thereof : Which Princely Disposition, as in Her Highness it deserveth all rare Commendations, so lieth the same open to many Dangers oftentimes, when so benign a Nature meeteth with Ingrate and Ambitious Persons : Which Observation perhaps moved Her Majesties Most Noble Grandfather and Father (two Renowned Wise Princes) to withdraw sometimes upon the suddain their great Favour from certain Subjects of high Estate. And Her Majesty may use her own most Excellent Wisdom and Memory, and call to mind the manifold Examples, and perilous Haps fallen to divers Princes by too much Confidence in obliged Proditors with whom the name of a Kingdom weigheth more than all the Duty, Obligation, Honesty or Nature in the World. Would God Her Majesty could see the continual Fears that be in Her Faithful Subject's Hearts, whilst that Man is about Her Noble Person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to be the
Ca-

Calamity of Her Princely Blood and Name. The Talk will never out of many Mouths and Minds, that divers ancient Men of this Realm, and one a Wise Gentleman, and now a Counsellor, had with a certain Friend of his, touching the Prefage and deep Impression, which Her Majesties Father had of the House of Sir *John Dudley* to be the ruin in time of his Majesties Royal House and Blood, which thing was like to have been fulfilled soon after (as all the World knoweth) upon the Death of King *Edward*, by the said *Dudley*, this Man's Father, who at one Blow procured to dispatch from all Possession of the Crown, all the three Children of the said Noble King, and yet in the midst of those Bloody Practices against Her Majesty that now is, and Her Sister (wherein also this Fellow's Hand was so far as for his Age he could thrust the same) within sixteen Days before King *Edward's* Death, and he knowing belike, that the King should Die, wrote most flattering Letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I heard by them who then were with her) promising all Loyalty and true Service unto her after the Decease of her Brother, with no less painted Words than this Man doth now use to Queen *Elizabeth*.

So dealt he then with the most dear Children of his Good King and Master, by whom he had been no less Exalted and Trusted than this Man is by Her Majesty, and so deeply dissembled he then when he had in hand the Plot to destroy them both. And what then? May we not fear and doubt of this his Son,

who in Outragious Ambition, and Desire of Reign is not inferior to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but far more Insolent, Cruel, Vindictive, Expert, Potent, Subtil, Fine and Fox-like than ever he was? I like well the good Motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman to his Friend at the same time, and do assure my self it would be most pleasant to the Realm, and profitable to Her Majesty; to wit, that this Man's Actions might be called publickly to Tryal, and Liberty given to good Subjects to say, what they know against the same, as it was permitted in the first Year of King *Henry* the Eighth against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queen *Mary* against his Father, and then I would not doubt, but if these two Ancestors of his were found worthy to loose their Heads for Treason, this Man would not be found Unworthy to make the third in Kindred, whose Treacheries do far surpass them both.

After the Gentleman had said this, the *Lawyer* stood still, somewhat smiling to himself, and looking round about him as though he had been half afraid, and then said, My Masters do you read over, or study the Statutes that come forth? Have you not heard of the Proviso made in the last Parliament for Punishment of those who speak so broad of such Men as my Lord of *Leicester* is?

Yes (said the Gentleman) I have heard how that my Lord of *Leicester* was very careful and diligent to have such a Law pass against Talkers, hoping belike that his Lordship under

der that General Restraint might lie the more quietly in Harbor from the Tempest of Mens Tongues, which tatled busily at that time of divers of his Lordship's Actions and Affairs, which perhaps himself would have wished to have passed with more Secresy ; as of his Discontentment and Preparation to Rebellion upon Monfieurs first coming into *England*: As of his Disgrace and Checks received in Court: Of the fresh Death of the Noble Earl of *Essex*, and of this Man's hasty snatching up of the Widdow, whom he sent up and down the Country from House to House by privy ways, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the Queen, and albeit he had not only used her at his good liking before for satisfying of his own Lust, but also Married and Re-married her for Contentation of her Friends, yet denied he the same by Solemn Oath unto Her Majesty, and Received the Holy Communion thereupon (so good a Conscience he hath) and consequently, most sharp Revenge towards all Subjects which should dare to speak thereof: And so for the Concealment both of this, and other his doings which he desireth not to have Publick; no marvail though his Lordship were so diligent a Procurer of that Law for Silence.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable, that his Lordship was in great Distress about that time, when Monsieur's Matters were in hand, and that he did many things, and purposed more, whereof he desired less Speech among the People, especially afterwards when his said Designments took not Place. I my self

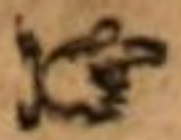
being that Year not far from *Warwick*, when he came thither from the Court of all Male-content, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that he would have taken Arms soon after, if the Marriage of Her Majesty with Monsieur had gone forward: This thing in *Cambridge*, and in all the Country as I rode was in every Man's Mouth, and it was a wonder to see, not only the Countenances, but also the Behaviour, and to hear the bold Speeches of all such as were of his Faction.

My Lord himself had given out a little before at *Killingworth*, that the Matter would cost many broken Heads before *Michaelmas* Day next; and my Lord of *Warwick* had said openly at his Table in *Greenwich* (Sir *Thomas Henning* being by, if I am not deceived) that it was not to be suffered (I mean the Marriage) which Words of his once coming abroad (albeit disliked by his own Lady, then also present) every Serving-man and common Companion took them up as in Defence of his Lordship's Part against the Queen: Marry, such running there was, such sending and posting about the Realm, such Amplifications of the Powers and Forces of *Cassimire*, and other Princes, ready as was affirmed, to present themselves to his Aid for Defence of the Realm and Religion against Strangers (for that was holden to be the cause) such Numbring of Parties and Accomplices within the Realm (whereof he himself shewed the Catalogue to some of his Friends for their Comfort) such debasing of them which favoured

voured the Marriage, especially 2 or 3 Counsellors by name, who were said to be the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to be sharply punished (to the Terror of all others) such Letters were written, and intercepted of purpose, importing great Powers to be ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest an open War, as that I began heartily to be afraid, and wished my self back at *Cambridge* again, hoping, that being there, my Scholars Gown should excuse me from Necessity of Fighting, for if not, I was resolved (by my Lord's good Leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferred always the Lion before the Bear, assuring my self withal, that his Lordship should have no better Success in this (if it came to Tryal) then his Father had in as bad a Cause, and so much the more, for that I was privy to the Minds of some of his Friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the Matter had broken out.

And amongst others there was a certain Vice-president in the World, who being left in the room and absence of another to procure Friends, said in a Place secretly not far off, that if the Matter come to Blows, he would follow from *Ludlow* his Mistress, and leave His Master in the Briars.

Marry (quoth the Gentleman) and I know many more would follow that Example: For albeit, that I know that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part in that Cause, for their open Inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently for the greater



greater Discredit of the Thing it self, it was given out every where by this Champion of Religion, that Her Majesties Cause was the Papists Cause (even as his Father had done in the like Enterprize before him) though upon Dissimulation, as appeared at his Death, where he professed himself an earnest Papist, yet there was no Man so simple in the Realm, which discried not this Vizard at the first, neither yet any good Subject (as I suppose) who seeing Her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, whatsoever he had been. And much more the thing it self in Controversie (I mean the Marriage of Her Royal Majesty with the Brother, and Heir Apparent of *France*) being taken and judged by the Best, Wisest and Faithfullest Protestant in the Realm, to be both Honourable, Convenient, Profitable and needful, whereby only as by a most Sovereign and present Remedy, all our Maladies, both at home and abroad had been cured, all Foreign Enemies, and Domestick Conspirators, all Differences, all Dangers, all Fears had ceased together.

France had been ours most assured, *Spain* would not a little have trembled, *Scotland* had been quiet, our Competitors in *England* would have quaked, and for the Pope he might have put by his Pipes, our Differences in Religion at home had been rather less, or no greater than now they are, for Monsieur being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his Opinions, was content with very reasonable Conditions for himself and
his

his Strangers, only in use of their Conscience, not unlikely, truly, but that in time he might by God's Grace, and by the great Wisdom and Vertue of Her Majesty, have been brought also to imbrace the Gospel, as King *Ethelbert* a Heathen, was by noble Queen *Bertha* his Wife, the first Christian of our *English* Princes : Unto all which Felicity, if (the Lord in Mercy) should have added some Issue of their Royal Bodies (as was not impossible, when first this Noble Match was moved) we then doubtless had been the Fortunate People under Heaven, and might perhaps have the means to have restored the Gospel throughout all *Europe* besides, as our Brethren of *France* well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular Benefits, both in present and to come, both in *re* and in *spe* this Tyrant for his own private Lucre (fearing least hereby his own intolerable Ambition might be restrained, and his Treachery revealed) hath bereaven the Realm, and done what in him lieth besides to alienate for ever, and make our Mortal Enemy, this great Prince, who sought the Love of Her Majesty with so much Honor and Confidence, as never Prince the like, putting twice his own Person in Jeopardy of the Seas, and to the Peril of his Malitious Envyers here in *England* for Her Majesties sake.

When you speak of Monsieur (said the *Lawyer*) I cannot but greatly be moved, both for these Considerations well touched by you, as also for some other especially one, wherein perhaps you will think me partial, but truly

ly I am not, for that I speak it only in respect of the Quiet and Good of my Country, and that is, that by Monsieur's Match with our Noble Princess (besides the hope of Issue, which was the Principal) there wanteth not also probability, that some Union or Toleration in Religion between you and us, might have been procured in this State, as we see in some other Countries is admitted to their great Good: Which thing, no doubt would have cut off quite all Dangers and Dealings from Foreign Princes, and would have stopped many Devices and Plots within this Realm, whereas now by this Breach with *France*, we now stand alone, as me seemeth without any great Union or Friendship abroad, and our Differences at home grow more vehement and sharp than ever before, upon which two Heads, as also upon infinite other Causes, Purposes, Drifts and Pretences, there do ensue daily more deep, dangerous and desperate Practices, every Man using either the Commodity, or Necessity of the Time, and State for his own purpose, especially now, when all Men presume that Her Majesty by the continual Thwarting that hath been used against all her Marriages, is not like to leave unto the Realm, that precious Jewel so much desired, I mean the Royal Heirs of Her own Body.

Thwarting, call you the Defeating of all Her Majesties most Honourable Offers of Marriage (said the Gentleman) truly in my opinion, you should have used another word to express the Nature of so wicked a Fact, whereby

whereby alone, if there were no other, this unfortunate Man hath done more hurt to this Common-wealth, then if he had murthered many Thoufands of Her Subjects, or betrayed whole Armys to the professed Enemy. I can remember well my self four Treatises to this purpose, undermined by his means.

The First with the *Sweden* King, the Second with the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, the Third with *Henry* King of *France*, that now reigneth; and the Fourth with the Brother and Heir of that Kingdom: For I let pass many other secret Motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty, for the same purpose, but those Four are openly known to have been all disturbed by this *Davus*, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

And for the first Three Suitors, he drove them away, by Protesting, and Swearing, that himself was contracted unto her Majesty: Whereof her Highness was sufficiently advertised by Cardinal *Chatillian*, in the First Treaty for *France*; and the Cardinal soon after punish'd (as 'tis thought) by this Man with Poyson. But yet this Speech he gave out then every where amongst his Friends, both Strangers and others, that he, forsooth, was assured to her Majesty, and consequently, that all other Princes must give over their Smiles for him; whereunto, notwithstanding, when the *Sweden* King would hardly give Ear, this Man conferr'd with his Privado, to make a most unseemly and disloyal Proof thereof, for the others Satisfaction.

Which

Which thing I am enforced by Duty to pass over with Silence, for Honour to the Parties that are touched therein; as also I am to conceal his said filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his Dishonesty to be display'd to the World. But my Lord himself, I am sure, doth well remember, both the Man and the Matter.

And albeit there was no Wise Man, at that time, who knowing my Lord, suspected not the falsehood of his arrogant Affirmation, touching this Contract with her Majesty; yet some both abroad and at home, might doubt thereof perhaps: But now of late his known Marriage with his Minion, Dame *Lettice* of *Essex*, hath declared manifestly his own most impudent and disloyal Dealing with his Sovereign in this respect.

For that Report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common, and mentioned by many for divers Years, yet did the Wisser sort make no account thereof, seeing it came only from himself, and in his own behalf. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty, who refused so many noble Kings and Princes, as *Europe* hath not the like, would make choice of so mean a piece as *Robin Dudley* is, Noble only in two Descents, and both of them stained with the Block, for which also himself was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by Law, for his Deserts, as appeareth yet in publick Records. And for the Widow of *Essex*, I marvel, Sir (quoth he) how you call her his Wife, seeing the Common Law standeth

eth yet in force, touching matters of Marriage within the Realm.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you mean for that he procured the Poisoning of her Husband in his Journey from *Ireland*; you must think that Doctor *Dale* will dispense in that matter (as he did at his Lordship's appointment) with his *Italian* Physician Doctor *Fulio*, to have Two Wives at once: At leastwise, the matter was permitted, and born out by them both publickly (as all the World knoweth) and that against no less Persons then the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* himself, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant, for contrarying his Will in so beastly a Demand.

But for this Controversy, whether the Marriage be good or no, I leave it to be tryed hereafter, between my young Lord of *Denbeigh* and Master *Philip Sidney*, whom the same most concerneth, for that it is like to deprive him of a good Inheritance, if it take place (as some will say that in no reason it can) not only in respect of the precedent Adultery and Murther, between the Parties, but also for that my Lord was contracted at least to another Lady before, that yet liveth; whereof Mr. *Edward Dyer* and Mr. *Edmund Tilney*, both Courtiers, can be Witnesses, and consummated the same Contract, by Generation of Children.

But this (as I said) must be left to be tryed hereafter by them, which shall have most Interest in the Case. Only for the present

present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of my Lord's doings in Womens Affairs; neither touching their Marriages, neither yet their Husbands.

For First, his Lordship hath a special Fortune, that when he desireth any Womans Favour, then what Person soever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly, for the finishing of his desire.

As for Example, when his Lordship was in full hope to Marry her Majesty, and his own Wife stood in his Light, as he supposed, he did but send her to the House of his Servant *Foster of Cumver*, by *Oxford*, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a pair of Stairs, and so to break her Neck; but yet without hurting of her Hood, that stood upon her Head. But Sir *Richard Varney*, who by commandment remained with her that Day alone, with one Man, and had sent away *per force* all her Servants from her, to a Market, Two Miles off, he, I say, with his Man, can tell you she dyed: Which Man being afterwards taken for a Felony in the Marshes of *Wales*, and offering the matter of the said Murther, was made away privily in the Prison: And Sir *Richard* himself dying about the same time in *London*, cryed piteously, and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of Worship, of my Acquaintance, not long before his Death, that all the Devils in Hell did tear him in pieces. The Wife also of *Bald. Butler*, Kinsman to my Lord, gave out

out the whole Fact a little before her Death. But to return unto my purpose, this was my Lord's good Fortune to have his Wife die at that time, when it was like to turn to his Profit. Long after this he fell in love with the Lady *Sheffeld*, whom I signified before, and then also had the same Fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extream Rheum in his Head (as it was given out) but as others say, with an artificial Catharr that stopped his Breath. The like good Chance had he in the Death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose: For when he was coming home from *Ireland*, with intent to revenge himself upon my Lord of *Leicester*, for begetting his Wife with Child in his Absence (the Child was a Daughter, and brought up by the Lady *Chandois*, *William Knowles* his Wife) my Lord of *Leicester* hearing thereof, wanted not a Friend or two to accompany the Deputy; and among others a Couple of the Earls own Servants, *Crompton* (if I miss not his Name) Yeoman of his Bottles, and *Godwick Lloyd*, his Secretary entertained afterwards by my Lord of *Leicester*, and so he died by the way of an extream Flux, caused by an *Italian* Receit (as all his Friends are well assured) the maker whereof was a Surgeon. (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from *Italy*, a cunning Man, and iure in Operation: With whom if the good Lady had been sooner acquainted, and used his help, she should not have needed to have
fit

fit so pensive at home, and fearful of her Husband's former return out of the same Country, but might have spared the young Child in her Belly, which she was enforced to make away cruelly and unnaturally, for clearing the House against the good Man's arrival.

Neither must you marvel, though all these dyed of outward Diseases, for this is the Excellency of the *Italian Art* (for which this Surgeon and Doctor *Julio* were entertained so carefully) who can make a Man dye in what manner, or shew of Sicknes you will: By whose Instructions, no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to those the Counsel of his Doctor *Bayly*, a Man not a little studied (as he seemeth) in this Art. For I heard him once my self in Publick Act in *Oxford* (and that in the Presence of my Lord of *Leicester*, if I be not mistaken) maintain, that Poison might so be tempered and given, as it should not appear presently, and yet should kill the Party afterwards at what time it should be appointed: Which Argument, belike, pleased well his Lordship, and therefore was chosen to be discussed in his Audience, he being that day present. So though one dye of a Flux, and another of a Catharr, yet this importeth little to the Matter, but sheweth rather the great Skill and Cunning of the Artificer.

So Cardinal *Chatillian* (as I have said before) having accused the Lord of *Leicester* to the Queen's Majesty about the Marriage, and after passing from *London*, towards
France,

France, died by the way at *Canterbury*. of a burning Fever, and so proved *Dr. Baily's* Assertion true, that Poison may be given to kill at a Day.

At this the *Lawyer* cast up his Eyes to Heaven, and I stood somewhat musing, and thinking of that which had been spoken of the Earl of *Essex*, whose Case indeed moved me more then all the rest; for that he was a noble Gentleman, a great advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students; and towards me, and some of my Friends in particular, he had been in some things very beneficial: And therefore I said, that it grieved me exceedingly to hear, or think of so unworthy a Death, contrived by such means to so worthy a Peer. And so much the more, for that it was my chance to come to the understanding of divers Particulars, concerning that thing both from one *Lea* and *Frishman*, *Robin Homines* and others, that were present at *Dentheus* House, the Merchant at *Dublin*, upon the Key, where this horrible Murther was committed.

The matter was wrought, especially by *Crompton*, Yeoman of the Bottles, and by the Procurement of *Godwick Lloyd* (as hath been before declared) and there was poisoned at the same time, and with the same Cup (as given of courtesie by the Earl) one Mrs. *Alice Drakott*, a godly Gentlewoman, whom the Earl affectioned much, who departing thence towards her own House, which was 18 Miles of, the aforesaid *Lea* accompanying her, she began to fall sick very grievously upon the
D way,

way, and continu'd with encrease of Pains, and excessive Torment by vomiting, until she died, which was the *Sunday* before the Earl's Death, ensuing the *Friday* after; and when she was dead, her Body was swollen into a monstrous Bigness and Deformity: Whereof the good Earl hearing the Day following, lamented the Case greatly, and said in the presence of his Servants, Ah! poor *Alice*, the Cup was not prepared for thee, albeit, it was thy hard fortune to taste thereof.

Young *Homines* also, whose Father is Master of the Children of her Majesty's Chappel, being at that time Page to the said Earl, and accustomed to take the taste of his Drink (though since entertained amongst others by my Lord of *Leicester*, for better covering of the matter) by his Taste that he then took of the Compound Cup, though in very small quantity (as you know the Fashion is) yet was he like to have lost his Life, but scaped in the end, being young, with the loss of his Hair; which the Earl perceiving, and taking compassion of the Youth, called for a Cup of Drink, a little before his Death, and drank to *Homines*, saying, I drink to thee my *Robin*, and be not afraid, for this is a better Cup of Drink than that whereof thou tookest the taste, when we were both Poisoned; and whereby thou hast lost thy Hair, and I must lose my Life.

This hath young *Homines* reported openly in divers Places, and before divers Gentlemen of Worship, since his coming into *England*.

And

And the aforesaid *Lea* an Irishman, at his Passage this way towards *France*, after he had been present at the forenamed *Drabbot's* Death, which some other of the Earl's Servants have, and do most constantly report the same, where they may do it without the Terror of my Lord of *Leicester's* Revenge.

Wherefore in this matter, there is no doubt at all, though most extream, vile and intolerable Indignity, that such a Man should be so openly Murthered without Punishment.

What Noble Man within the Realm may be safe if this be suffered? Or what worthy Personage will adventure his Life in her Majesty's Service if this shall be his Reward?

But Sir, I pray you, pardon me, for I am perhaps somewhat too vehement in the Case of this my Noble Patron, and Peer of our Realm: And therefore I beseech you to go forwards in your Talk whereat you left.

I was recounting to you (said the Gentleman) others made away by my Lord of *Leicester* with like art; and the next in order I think was Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who was a Man whom my Lord of *Leicester* used a great while, as all the World knoweth, to overthrow and cross the doings of my Lord Treasurer, then Sir *William Cecil*, a Man specially always disliked of *Leicester*, who in respect of his old Master, the Duke of *Somerset*, as also for that his great Wisdom, Zeal and singular Fidelity to the Realm, was like to hinder much this Man's Designments: Wherefore understanding after a certain time that these two Knights were secretly made Friends, and that Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was like to

detect his doings(as he imagined)which might be some prejudice and let to his Purposes, having conceived also a secret grudge and grief against him; for that he had written to her Majesty, at his being Ambassador in *France*, that he heard it reported at Duke *Memorance's* Table, that the Queen of *England* had a meaning to marry her Horse-keeper: Invited the said Sir *Nicholas* to a Supper, at his House in *London*, and at Supper-time departed to the Court, being call'd for as he said, on the sudden by her Majesty, and so per force would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to sit and occupy his Lordship's Place, and therein to be served as he was, and soon after by a Surfeit there taken, he died of a strange incurable Vomit. But the Day before his Death, he declared to a dear Friend of his, all the Circumstance and Cause of his Disease, which he affirmed plainly to be Poison given him in a Sallet at Supper, inveighing most earnestly against the Earl's Cruelty, and bloody Disposition; affirming him to be the Wickedest, most Perilous and Perfidious Man under Heaven.

But what availeth this, when he had received the Bait? This then is to shew the Man's good Fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for Causes he would not have to live.

And for his Art of Poisoning, it is such now, and reacheth so far, as he holdeth all his Foes in *England*, and elsewhere; as also a good many of his Friends in fear thereof. And if it were known how many he hath dispatched
and

and assaulted that way it would be marvelous to Posterity.

The late Earl of *Suffex* wanted not a Scruple for many Years before his Death, of some Dram received, that made him incurable.

And to that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Shemeirs*, it was discovered by great Providence of God, that his Life was to be attempted by that Art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his own Circumspection) it was concluded, that the same should be assaulted by Violence: Whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

It hath been also told me by some of the Servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the Blood Royal by *Scotland*, as all Men know, and therefore little liked by *Leicester*, that a little before her Death my Lord took the pains to come and visit her, with extraordinary kindness at her House at *Hackney*, bestowing long Discourses with her in private; but as soon as he was departed, the good Lady fell into such a Flux, as by no means could be stayed, so long as she had life in her Body: Whereupon both she her self, and also such as were near about her, and saw her Disease, and ending of her Days, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her Dispatch at his being there, whereof let the Woman that served her be examined; and also *Flower*, that then had the chief doings in her Affairs, sithence hath been entertained by my Lord of *Leicester*, : *Mallet* likewise a stranger born, that then was about

her, a Sober and Zealous Man in Religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this Point if he were demanded. So that this Art and Exercise of Poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying, and he seemeth to take more Pleasure therein.

Now for the second point which I named touching Marriages, and Contracts with Women; you must not marvel though his Lordship be somewhat diverse and inconstant with himself; for that, according to his Profit, or his Pleasure, and as his Lust and Liking shall vary.

And herein by the Judgment of all Men, he surpasseth not only *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Heliogabulus* himself. So his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing one, and denying the other, using the Third for a time, and fawning upon the Fourth. And for this Cause he hath his Terms and Pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Pre-contracts, Post-contracts, Protracts and Retracts. As for Example, after he had killed his first Wife, and so broken that Contract, then forsooth would he needs make himself Husband to Queen *Mary*, and so defeat all other Princes, by vertue of his Pre-contract.

But after this, his Lust compelling him to another Place, he would needs make a Post-contract with the Lady *Sheffeld*, and so he did, begetting Two upon her: The one a Boy called *Robin Sheffeld*, now living, sometimes brought up at *Newington*; and the other a Daughter, born as it is well known at *Dudley-Castle*.

But

But yet after his Concupiscence changing again, as it never stayeth, he resolved to make a Retract of his Post-contract, tho' it were as surely done as Bed and Bible could make the same, and to make a new Protract, which is a continuation of using her for a time, with the Widow of *Essex*. But yet to stop the Mouths of Out-cries, and to bury the Synagogue with some Honour (for these Two Wives of *Leicester*, were merrily and wittily called his Old and New Testament, by a Person of great Excellency within the Realm) he being content to assign to the former One Thousand Pounds in Money, with other petty Considerations (the pitifullest abused that ever was Lady) and so betake his times to the latter; which latter notwithstanding he so useth, as we see, now Confessing, now Forswearing, now Dissembling the Marriage, as he will always, yet keep a void Place for a new sure Contract with any other, when occasion shall require.

Now of a truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard, nor read the like to this in my life; yet have I read much in time of the Carnality and Licentiousness of divers outrageous Persons in this kind of Sin; as namely those whom you mentioned, especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus*, who passed all others, and was called *Darius*, of the variety of filth, which he used in this kind of Carnality, or Carnal Beastliness, whose Death was, that being at length odious to all Men, and so slain by his own Soldiers, was drawn through the City upon the Ground like a Dog, and cast into the com-

mon Privy, with this Epitaph, *Hic projectus est indomita & rapida libidinis catulus*: Here is thrown in the Whelp of raging and unruly Lust: Which Epitaph may also one Day chance to serve my Lord of *Leicester*, whom you call the Bear Whelp, if he go forward as he hath begun, and die as he deserveth. But good Sir, what an intollerable thing is this, that amongst us Christians, and namely in so well a govern'd Common-Wealth as ours is, such a Riot should be permitted upon Mens Wives in a Subject; whereas we read that amongst the Heathens, less Offences then these in the same kind were extremely punished even in Princes themselves; that not only in the Person delinquent alone, but also by the extirpation of the whole Family for his sake; as appeareth in the Example of the *Tarquinians* among the *Romans*: And here also in our Realm we have Registred in Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* 600 years past, was deprived of his Kingdom, for much less scandalous Facts then these.

I remember well the Story (quoth the Gentleman) and thereby do easily make conjecture, what difference there is, betwixt those times of old, and our days now, seeing then a Crowned Prince could not pass unpunished, with one or two Outragious Acts; whereas now a Subject, raised up but yesterday from the meaner sort, rangeth at his Pleasure in all Licentiousness, and that with Security, void of Fear both of God and Man. No Mans Wife can be free from him, whom his Fiery Lust listeth to abuse, nor their
Huf-

Husbands able to resist, nor safe from his Violence, if they shew dislike, or will not yield their Consent to his Doings. And if I should discover in particular, how many good Husbands he had plagued in this Nature (for his Concupiscence and Violence do run joyntly together, as in furious Beasts we see they are accustomed.) Neither holdeth he any Rule in his Lusts, besides only the Motion and Suggestion of his own Sensuality; Kindred or Affinity, or any other Band of Consanguinity, Religion, Honor or Honesty taketh no place in his Outragious Appetite, what he best liketh, that he taketh as Lawful for the Time: So that Kinswoman, Allie, Friend, Wife, or Daughter, or whatsoever Female sort besides doth please his Eye (I leave out of purpose, and for Honors sake, Terms of Kindred more near) that must yield to his Desire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once, or successively, is no more with him, than the eating of a Hen and her Chickens together. There are not by report two Noble Women about Her Majesty (I speak upon some account of them that know much) whom he hath not solicited by Potent Ways. Neither contented with his Place of Honor, he hath descended to seek the Pasture among the Waiting Gentlewomen of Her Majesties Great Chamber, offering more for their Allurement, than I think *Lais* did take commonly in *Corinth*, if three hundred Pounds will make up the Sum, or if not, yet will he make it up otherwise.

therwise, having reported himself (so little Shame he hath) that he offered to another of higher Place, an hundred Pounds Lands by the Year, with as much Jewels as most Women under Her Majesty used in *England*, which was no mean Bait to one that used Traffick in such Merchandize, she being but the Leavings of another Man before him, whereof my Lord was nothing squeamish for satisfying of his Lust, but can be content to gather up Crumbs, when he is hungry, even in the Laundry it self, or other Place of baser Quality.

And albeit, the Lord of his great Mercy, (to do him good, no doubt, if he were Revocable) hath laid his Hand upon him in some Chaastisement in this World, by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his Bowels, whereby Misery and Putrefaction is threatned him daily, and to his Son by the Widow of *Essex* (being *filius peccati*) such a strange Calamity of the Falling-sickness in his Infancy, as well may be a Witness of his Parents Sin and Wickedness, and of both their Wasted Natures in Iniquity.

Yet is this Man nothing amended thereby; but according to the Custom of old Adulterers, is more libidinous at this day than ever before, more given to procure Love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other such Means. And albeit, for himself, both Age and Nature spent, doth somewhat tame him from this Act, yet wanteth he not Will, as appeareth by the *Italian* Ointment, procured not many Years past by his Surgeon; where-
by

by he is able, as they say, to move his Flesh at all times for keeping of his Credit, howsoever his Inability is otherwise for Performance: As also one of his Physicians reported to an Earl of this Land, that his Lordship had a Bottle for his Beds-head of ten Pounds the Pint, to the same effect. But my Masters, whether are we fain unadvisedly? I am ashamed to have named so base Filthiness.

Not without good Cause (quoth I) but that we are here alone, and no Man heareth us. Wherefore, I pray you, let us return whereat we left.

When you named my Lord of *Leicester's* Daughter, Born of the Lady *Sheffeld* in *Dudley Castle*, there came into my Head a pritty Story concerning that Affair, which now I will Recount, though somewhat out of order, thereby to draw you from the further stirring of this unfavory Puddle, and foul Dunghil, whereinto we have slipped, by following my Lord too far in his Paths and Actions.

Wherefore to tell you the Tale, as it fell out; I grew acquainted some few Months past, with a certain Minister, that now is dead, and was the same Man that was used at *Dudley Castle*, for Complement of some Sacred Ceremonies at the Birth of my Lord of *Leicester's* Daughter in that Place. The Matter was ordered by the Wily Wit of him that sowed the Seed, that for the better covering of the Harvest, and secret Delivery of the Lady *Sheffeld*, the good Wife of the Castle (whereby *Leicester* appointed Gossips, might

might without other Suspition have Access to the Place) should fain her self to be with Child, and after long and fore Labour, God wot, to be Delivered of a Cushion, as she was, and a little after a fair Coffin was buried with a bundle of Clouts in shew of a Child, and the Minister caused to use all accustomed Prayers and Ceremonies for the Solemn Interring thereof. For which thing afterwards before his Death, he had great Grief and Remorse of Conscience, with no small Detestation of the most Irreligious Device of my Lord of *Leicester's* in such a Case.

Here the *Lawyer* began to laugh a pace, both at the Device, and at the Minister, saying: Now, truly, if my Lord's Contracts hold no better, but have so many Infirmities, with Subtilties, and by Places besides, I would be loath he were Married to my Daughter, as mean as she is.

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two be his Wife for the time, than his Guest especially, if the *Italian* Surgeon or Physician be at hand.

True it is, said the *Lawyer*, for he doth not Poison his Wives, whereat I somewhat marvel, especially his first Wife, whom he chose rather to make away by open Violence, than by some *Italian* Comfortive.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may be divers Reasons alledged: First, That he was not at that time so skilful in those *Italian* Wares, nor had about him so skilful Physicians or Surgeons for the purpose, nor yet in truth do I think that his Mind was settled then in Mischief,

chief, as it hath been since; for you know that Men are not desperate the first Day, but do enter into Wickedness by degrees, and that with doubt or staggering of Conscience at the beginning: And so he might at that time be desirous to have his Wife made away, for that she letted his Designment, but not yet so Stony Hearted, as to appoint out the particular manner of her Death, but rather to leave that to the Discretion of the Murtherer. Secondly, It is not unlike also, that he prescribed unto Sir *Richard Darney* at his going thither, that he should first attempt to kill her by Poison, and if that took not place, than by another way to dispatch her howsoever. And this I prove by the Report of old Doctor *Baily*, who then lived in *Oxford* (another manner of Man than he that now liveth about my Lord of the same Name) and was Professor of the Physick Lecture in the same University.

This Learned Grave Man reported for a certain, that there was a Practice in *Cumver* amongst the Conspirators to have Poisoned the poor Lady a little before she was killed, which was attempted in this order; They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that knew by her handling, that her Death was not far off) began to perswade her, that her Disease was abundance of Melancholly, and other Humors, and therefore would needs Counsel her to take some Potion, which she absolutely refused to do, as suspecting still the worst: They sent one day (unawares to her) for Doctor *Bailey*, and desired him

him to perswade her to take some little Portion at his Hands, and they would send to fetch the same at *Oxford* upon his Prescription, meaning also to have added somewhat of their own for her Comfort (as the Doctor upon just Causes suspected, seeing their great Importunity, and the small need the good Lady had of Physick) and therefore he flatly denied their Request, misdoubting (as he after reported) least, if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion, he might after have been hanged for a Cover to their Sin.

Marry, the Doctor remained well assured, that this way taking no place, she should not long escape Violence, as after ensued.

And this was so beaten into the Heads of the Principal Men of the *University of Oxford*, by these, and other Means; as for that she was found Murthered (as all Men said) by the Coroners Inquest: And for that she being hastily and obscurely Buried at *Cumver*, which was condemned, above (as not advisedly done) my Lord, to make plain to the World, the great Love he bare to her in her Life, and what a Grief the loss of so Vertuous a Lady was to his tender Heart, would needs have her taken up again and re-buried in the *University Church* at *Oxford* with great Pomp and Solemnity: That Doctor *Babington*, my Lord's Chaplain, making the Publick Funeral Sermon at her second Burial, tript once or twice in his Speech, by recommending to their Memories that Vertuous Lady so pitifully Mur-

Murthered, instead of so pitiously Slain. A third Cause of this manner of the Ladies Death, may be the Disposition of my Lord's Nature, which is Bold and Violent, where it feareth no resistance (as all Cowardly Natures are by kind) and where any Difficulty or Danger appeareth, there more ready to attempt all by Art, Subtilty, Treason and Treachery: And so for that he doubted no great Resistance in the poor Lady to withstand the Hands of them which should offer to break her Neck, he durst the bolder attempt the same openly: But in the Men whom he poisoned, for that they were such Valiant Knights the most part of them, he was inforced, as all Wretched, Ireful and Dastardly Creatures are, to supplant them by Fraud, and by other Mens Hands: As also at other times he hath sought to do unto divers other Noble and Valiant Personages, when he was afraid to meet them in the Field, as a Knight should have done. His Treacheries towards the Noble late Earl of *Sussex*, in their many Breaches is notorious to all *England*, as also the Bloody Practices against divers others, but among many, none more odious and misliked of all Men, than those against Monsieur *Shemiers*, a Stranger and Embassador: Whom first he practised to have poisoned, and when that Device took no place, than he appointed that *Robin Tyder* his Man (as after upon his Ale-bench he confessed) should have Slain him at the *Black-fryars* in *Greenwich*, as he went forth at the Garden-gate, but missing also of that purpose, for that he found the

the Gentleman better provided and guarded than he expected, he dealt with certain *Flushingers*, and other Pyrates to sink him at the Sea, which the *English* Gentlemen, his Favourers, that accompanied him at his Return into *France*, and although they misfed of this Practise also (as not daring to set upon them for fear of some of Her Majesties Ships, who to break off this Designment, attended by Special Commandment to cast him over in Safety) yet theaforesaid *English* Gentlemen were holden four Hours in Chase at their coming back, as Mr. *Rawley* well knoweth, being then present, and two of the Chafers, named *Clerk* and *Harris*, confessed afterwards the whole Designment.

The Earl of *Ormond* hath likewise often declared, and will avouch it to my Lord of *Leicester's* Face, whensoever he shall be called to the same, that at such time as this Man had a Quarrel with him, and thereby was likely to be inforced to the Field (which he trembled to think of) he first sought by all means to get him made away by Secret Murther, offering five hundred Pounds for the doing thereof. And Secondly, when that Device took no place, he appointed with him the Field, but secretly suborning his Servant, *William Killygrew* to lie in the way where *Ormond* should pass, and so to Massacre him with a Callivar before he came to the Place appointed; which Murther, though it took no effect, for that the Matter was taken up before the Day of Meeting, yet was *Killygrew* placed afterward in Her Majesties Pri-

vy Chamber by *Leicester*, for shewing his ready mind to do for his Master so faithful a Service.

So faithful a Service (quoth I) truly in my opinion it was but an unfit Preferment for so Fascinorous a Fact: And as I would be loath, that many of his *Italians*, or other of that Art, should come nigh about Her Majesties Kitching: So much less would I that many such his Bloody Champions should be placed by him in her Highness's Chamber.

Albeit, for this Gentleman in particular, it may be that with change of his Place in Service, he hath changed also his Mind and Affection, and received better Instruction in the Fear of the Lord.

But yet in general, I must needs say, that it cannot be but prejudicial, and exceeding dangerous to our Noble Prince and Realm, that any one Man (especially such a one as the World taketh this Man to be) should grow to such Absolute Authority and Commandment in the Court, as to place about the Prince's Person (the Head, the Heart, the Life of the Land) whatsoever People liketh him best, and that not upon their Deserts towards the Prince, but towards himself: Whose Fidelity being more obliged towards their Advancer, than to their Sovereign, do serve for Watchmen about the same for the profit of him, by whose Appointment they were there placed, who by their means casting indeed but Nets, and Chains, and invisible Hands about that Person, whom most of all he pretendeth to
E serve,

serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a Prison most sure, yet sweet and senseless. Neither is this Art of Aspiring new or strange unto any Man that is experienced in Affairs of former times ; for that hath been from the beginning of all Government, a trodden Path of all Aspirers. In the Stories, both Sacred and Prophane, Foreign and Domestical of all Nations, Kingdoms, Countries and States, you shall read that such as meant to mount above others, and to govern all at their own discretion, did lay this for their first Ground and Principle of their Purpose, to possess themselves of all such as were in Place about the Principal. Even as he who intending to hold a great City at his own Disposition, dareth not to make open War against the same, but getteth secretly into his Hand, or at his Devotion all the Towns, Villages, Castles, Fortresses, Bullwarks, Rampiers, Waters, Ways, Ports and Passages about the same, and so without drawing any Sword against the City, he bringeth the same into Bondage to abide his Will and Pleasure.

This did all those in the *Roman Empire*, who rose from Subjects to be great Princes, and to put down Emperors

This did all those in *France*, and other Kingdoms, who at sundry times have Tyrannized their Princes. And in our Country the Examples are manifest of *Vortiger*, *Harold*, *Henry of Lancaster*, *Richard of Warwick*, *Richard of Gloucester*, *John of Northumberland*, and divers others, who by this means

means especially, have pulled down their lawful Sovereigns.

And to speak only a word or two of the last, for that he was this Man's Father: Doth not all *England* know, that he first overthrew the good Duke of *Somerset*, by drawing to his Devotion the very Servants and Friends of the said Duke, and afterwards did he not possess himself of the King's own Person, and brought him to the end which is known, and that before the shameful Disinheritance of his own Royal Sisters, and all this by possessing first the Principal Men, that were in Authority about him? Wherefore, if my Lord of *Leicester* have the same Plot in his Head, as most Men think, and that he meaneth one day to give the same push at the Crown by the House of *Huntington* against all the Race and Line of King *Henry* the Seventh in general, which his Father gave before him by pretence of the House of *Suffolk*, against the Children of King *Henry* the Eighth in particular, he wanteth not Reason to follow the same Means and Platform of planting special Persons for his purpose about the Prince, for sure his Father's Plot lacked no Witty Device or Preparation, but only that God overthrew it at the instant, as happily he may do this Man's also, notwithstanding any Diligence that Human Wisdom can use to the contrary.

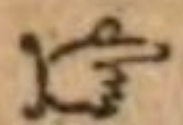
To this (said the Gentleman) that my Lord of *Leicester* hath a Purpose to shoot one day at the Diadem, by the Title of *Huntington*, is not a thing obscure in it self, and it shall be

more plainly proved hereafter : But now I will shew unto you for your Instruction, how well this Man hath followed his Fathers Platform, or rather passed the same, in possessing himself of all Her Majesties Servants, and Friends, and Forces too, to serve his turn for Execution at that time, and in the mean Space for Preparation.

First, In the *Privy Chamber*, next to Her Majesties Person, the most part are his own Creatures (as he calleth them) that is, such as acknowledge their being in that Place from him, and the rest he so over-ruleth either by Flattery or Fear, as none may dare but to serve his turn. His Reign also is so Absolute in this Place, and likewise in all other Parts of the Court, as nothing can pass but by his Admission, nothing can be said, done, or signified, whereof he is not particularly advertised, no Bill, no Supplication, no Complaint, no Suit, no Speech can pass from any Man to the Prince (except it be from one of the Counsel) but by his good Liking, or if they otherwise do, he being admonished thereof (as presently he shall) the Party delinquent is sure afterwards to seek the Smart thereof. Whereby he holdeth, as it were a Lock upon the Ears of his Prince, and the Tongues of all Her Majesties Servants, so surely Chained to his Girdle, as no Man dareth to speak any one thing, that may offend him, though it were never so true and behoofeful for Her Majesty to know : As well appeared in his late Marriage with Dame *Effex*, which albeit it was Celebrated twice, first at *Killingworth*,
and

and secondly at *Wainstead* in the Presence of the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knowles*, and others, and this being exactly known to the whole Court, with the very Day, the Place, Witnesses, and the Minister that Married them together, yet no Man durst open his Mouth to make Her Majesty privy thereunto, until Monsieur *Shemiers* disclosed the same, and thereby incurred his high Displeasure, with a Subjection most dishonourable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the Devotion of his Subject, what to hear, and not to hear, of things that pass within his own Realm. And thereof it followeth, that no Suit can prevail in Court (be it never so mean) except he be first made acquainted, and receive not only the Thanks, but also be admitted unto a great part of the Gain and Commodity thereof; which as it is a great Injury to the Suitor, so a far more greater to the Bounty, Honor and Security of the Prince, by whose Liberality this Man feedeth only, and forfeiting himself, depriveth his Sovereign of all Grace, Thanks and Good-will for the same. For which he giveth out ordinarily to every Suitor, that Her Majesty is nigh and Parsimonious to her self, and very difficult to grant any Smiles, were it not only upon his unceasing Sollicitation, whereby he filleth his own Purse the more, and emptieth the Hearts of such as receive Benefits, of due thanks to their Princess for the same obtained.

Hereof also ensueth, that no Man may be preferred in the Court, be he otherwise never



so well a deserving Servant to Her Majesty, except he be one of *Leicester's* Faction or Followers: None can be advanced, except he be liked and preferred by him: None receive Grace, except he stand in his good Favour; no one may live in Continuance and Quiet of Life, except he take it, use it, and acknowledge it from him: So as all the Favours, Graces, Dignities, Preferments, Riches and Rewards which Her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realm can yield must serve to purchase this Man's private Friends and Favourers, only to advance his Party, and to fortifie his Faction. Which Faction, if by this means it be great (as indeed it is) you may not marvel, seeing the Riches and Wealth of so Worthy a Common-wealth doth but serve him for a Price to buy the same. Which thing himself well knoweth, frameth his Spirit of proceeding Correspondently, and upon Confidence thereof is become so insolent and impatient of his Ire, that none may bear the same, how justly or unjustly soever it be conceived. For albeit, he begins to hate a Man upon meer Surmise only (as commonly it falleth out, Ambition being the Mother of Suspicion) yet he persecuteth the same with such implacable Cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the Party in that Place, which might be shewed by the Examples of many whom he chased from the Court, upon his only Displeasure, without other cause, being known otherwise zealous *Protestants*, as *Mr. Jerom Bowes*, Master *George Scott*, and others that we could name.

To this Insolency is also joined, as by Nature it followeth, most absolute and peremptory

tory Dealing in all things, whereof it pleaseth him to dispose, without respect either of Reason, Order, Due, Right, Subordination, Custom, Convenience, or the like, whereof, notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their Matters. As for Example, among the Servants of the Queens Majesties Household, it is an ancient and most commendable Custom, that when a Place of higher room falleth void, he that by Succession is the next, and hath made proof of his Worthiness in an inferior Place, should rise and possess the same (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no Man unexperienced or untried, should be placed in the higher Rooms the first Day, to the prejudice of others, and Disservice of the Prince, which most reasonable Custom this Man condemning, and breaking at his pleasure, thrusting into higher Rooms, any Person whatsoever, so he like his Inclination, or feel his Reward; albeit, he neither be fit for the purpose, or hath been so much as Clerk in any inferior Office before. The like he useth out of the Court in all other Places, where Matters should pass by order of Election or Degree. As in the *Universities*, in Election of Scholars and Heads of Houses, in Ecclesiastical Persons for Dignities of Church, in Offices, Magistrates, Stewards of Lands, Sheriffs, and Knights of the Shire in Burgesses of *Parliament*, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of Peace, whereof many in every Shire must wear his Livery, and all other the like, where this Man's Will must

stand for Law and Reason, and his Letters for Absolute Laws. Neither is there any Man, Magistrate or Commissioner, in the Realm, who dareth not sooner deny the Petition of Her Majesties Letters upon just Causes (for that Her Highness is content to be satisfied with Reason) then to resist the Commandment of this Man's Letters, who will admit no Excuse or Satisfaction, but only the Execution of his said Commandment, be it right or wrong.

To this answered the *Lawyer*, you verily Sir, Paint unto me a strange Pattern of a perfect Potentate in the Court, be like that Stranger, who called our State in his Printed Book, *Leicestrensem Rempubicam*, a *Leicestrian* Common-wealth, or the Common-wealth of my Lord of *Leicester*, knoweth much of this Matter.

But to hold, Sir, still not within the Court, I assure you by Considerations which you have laid down, I begin now to perceive that this Party must needs be very great and strong within the Court, seeing that he hath so many Ways and Means to increase, enrich and encourage the same, and so strong Abilities to tread down his Enemies. The common Speech of many wanteth not Reason, I perceive, which calleth him the Heart and Life of the Court.

They which call him the Heart (said the Gentleman) upon a little occasion more, will call him also the Head, and then I marvel what should be left for her Majesty, when they take from her both Life, Heart and Headship.

Headship in her own Realm? But the truth is, he hath the —— at this day in almost the same Case, as his Father had it in King *Edward's* Days, by the same Device (the Lord forbid that ever it come fully to the same state) for then we know what ensued to the Principal.

And if you will have an evident Demonstration of this Man's Power and Favour in that Place, call but to mind the times when her Majesty, upon most just and urgent occasions, did withdraw but a little her wonted Favour and Countenance from him, did not all the Court as it were mutiny presently? Did not every Man hang the Lip? except but a few, who afterwards paid sweetly for their Mirth; Were there not every Day new Devices sought out, that some should be on their Knees to her Majesty? Some should weep and put Finger in Eye; others should find out certain covert manner of Threatnings; other Persons and Perswasions of Love, other of Profit, other of Honour, other of Necessity, and all to get him recalled back to favour again? And had her Majesty any Rest permitted unto her, until she had heard and granted the same?

Consider then I pray you, that if at that time in his Disgrace he had his Faction so fast assured to himself, what hath he now in his Prosperity, after so many years of Satisfaction? wherein by all Reason, he hath not been negligent, seeing that in policy, the first point of good Fortification is to make that Fort impregnable, which once hath been in danger to be lost. Whereof you have an Example

ample in *Richard Duke of York*, in the time of King *Henry the Sixth*, who being once in the King's Hands, by his own Submission, and dismissed again, when for his Deserts he should have suffered; provided after, that the King should never be able to over-reach him the second time, or have him in his Power to do him hurt, but made himself strong enough to pull down the other, with the extirpation of his Family. And this of the Court, Household, and Chamber of her Majesty.

But now, if we shall pass from Court to Counsel, we shall find him no less Fortified, but rather more.

For albeit the Providence of God hath been such, that in this most Honourable Assembly, there hath not wanted some two or three of the Wisest, Gravest, and most experienc'd in our State, that have seen and heard this Man's perilous Proceedings from the beginning (whereof notwithstanding two are now deceased, and their Places supplied to *Leicester's* good liking) yet the wisdom of these worthy Men have discovered always more than their Authorities were able to redress (the others greater Power and Violence considered) and for the residue of that Bench and Table, tho' I doubt not but there are divers who doth in Heart detest his doings (as there were also no doubt amongst the Counsellors of King *Edward* who misliked this Man's Father's attempts, though not so hardy as to contrary the same) yet for most part of the Counsel present, they are known to be so affected in particular; the one, for that he is to him a Brother,
the

the other a fast obliged Friend, the other a Father, the other a Kinsman, the other an Allie, the other a Follower, or Fellow in Faction, so as none will stand in the Breach against him; none dare resist or encounter his Designments, but every Man yeildeth rather to the force of his Blow, permitting him to peirce and pass at his Pleasure, in whatsoever his Will is once settled to obtain.

And hereof (were I not stayed in respect of some who I may not name) I could alledge strange Examples, not so much in Affairs belonging to Subjects and private Men, as were the Cases of *Snowden*, *Forrest*, *Denbeigh* and *Killingworth*, of his fair Pasture *Fouley* procured by *Southam*, of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, of the Lord *Barkley*, of Sir *John Thorngmorton*, and the like; wherein those of the Counsel that disliked his doings, least dared to oppose themselves to the same, but also in things that appertain directly to the Crown and Dignity, to the State and Common-wealth, and to the Safety and Continuance thereof.

It is not sure for any one Counsellor, or other of Authority, to take notice of my Lord of *Leicester's* Errors or Misdeeds, but with extream Peril of their own Ruin.

As for Example, in the Rebellion in *Ireland*, at the beginning, when my Lord of *Leicester* was in some Disgrace, and consequently (as he imagined) but in frail state at home, he thought it not unexpedient for his better Assurance to hold some intelligence that way for all Events, and so he did; whereof there
was

was so good Evidence and Testimony found upon one of the first of account that was there slain (as honourable Personages of their knowledge have assured me) as would have been sufficient to have toucht the Life of any Subject of the Land, or in any State Christian, but only my Lord of *Leicester*, who is a Subject without Subjection.

For what think you? Durst any Man take notice thereof? or avouch, that he had seen thus much? Durst he that took it in *Ireland*, deliver the same, where especially he should have done? Or they who receiv'd it in *England* (for it came to great Hands) use it to the benefit of their Princess and Country? No surely, For, if it had been but only suspected, that they had seen such a thing, it would have been as dangerous unto them, as it was to *Actæon* to have seen *Diana*, and her Maidens naked, whose Case is so common now in *England*, as nothing more, and so do the Examples of divers well declare, whose unfortunate knowledge of too many Secrets, hath brought 'em quickly to unfortunate ends.

For we hear of one *Salvater*, a Stranger, long used in great Mysteries of base Affairs, and dishonest Actions, who afterwards, upon what Demerit I know not, sustaining a hard Fortune, for being late with my Lord in his Study, well near until midnight (if I be rightly informed) went home to his Chamber, and the next Morning was found slain in his Bed. We hear also of one *Doughty* hanged in haste by Captain *Drake* upon the Sea, and that by order (as is thought given before his departure

ture out of *England*, for that he was over privy to the Secrets of this good Earl.

There was also this last Summer past one *Gates* hanged at *Tyburn*, amongst others, for Robbing of Carriers; which *Gates* had been lately Clerk of my Lord's Kitchen, and had laid out much Money of his own (as he said) for my Lord's Provision, being also otherwise in so great Grace and Favour with his Lordship, as no Man living was thought to be more privy to his Secrets than this Man; whereupon also it is to be thought, that he presumed the rather to commit the Robbery (for to such doth my Lord's Favour extend much) and being apprehended and in danger for the same, he made his recourse for Protection to his Honour (as the fashion is) and that he might be born out as divers of less Merit had been by his Lordship, in more heinous Causes before him.

The good Earl answered his Servant and dear Privado courteously, and assured him of Life; however, for outward Shew, or Compliment, the Form of the Law might pass against him.

But *Gates* seeing himself Condemned, and nothing now between his Head and the Halter, but the Word of the Magistrate, which might come in an Instant, when it would be too late to send to his Lord, remembering also the small assurance of his said Lord's Word, by his former dealings towards other Men, whereof this Man was too much privy; he thought good to sollicite his Cause also by some others of his Friends, though not so puissant

puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed both diligently and effectually in his Affairs, found the matter more difficult a great deal, then either he or they had imagined; for that my Lord of *Leicester* was not only a Favourite, but a great hastener of his Death underhand, and that with such care and diligence, vehemency and unresistable means, having the Law also on his side, there was no hope at all of his escaping: Which thing when *Gates* heard of, he easily believed; for the experience he had of his Master's good Nature, saying, that he always mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship was indebted unto him, and made privy also to his Lordship's foul Secrets: which Secrets he would presently have there offered in the face of all the World, but that he feared Torments, or speedy death with some extraordinary cruelty, if he should so have done. But he disclosed the same only to one Gentleman of Worship, whom he trusted specially, whose Name I may not utter for some Causes (but it beginneth with H) I am in hope 'ere it be long, by means of a Friend of mine, to have a sight of that Discourse and Report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not seen, nor ever spake with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I be well assured, that the whole matter passed in Substance as I have here recounted it.

Whereunto answered the Scholar, that in good faith, it were pity, that the Relation should be lost, for that it is very like that many rare things be declared therein, seeing it
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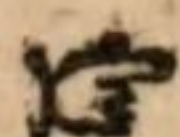
is done by Man so privy to the Affairs themselves, wherein also he had been used as an Instrument.

I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or else my Friend shall fail me, howbeit not so soon as I would; for that he is in the West-Country that should procure it for me, and will not return for certain Months. But after I shall see him again, I will not leave him until he procure it for me, as he hath promised me.

Well (quoth the Scholar) but what is become of that Evidence found in *Ireland*, under my Lord's hand, which no Man dare pursue, avouch or behold.

Truly (quoth the Gentleman) I am informed that it lyeth safely reserved in good Custody, to be brought forth and avouched, whensoever it shall please God so to dispose of her Majesty's Heart, as to lend an indifferent ear, as well to his Accusers, as to himself in judgment. Neither must you think, that this is strange, nor that the things be few which are in such sort reserved in dark for the time to come, even amongst great Personages, and of high Calling; for seeing the present state of his power to be such, and the tempest of his Tyranny to be so strong and boisterous, as no Man may stand in the rage thereof without Peril; for that even from her Majesty herself, in the levity of her Princely Nature, he extorteth what he designeth, either by Fraud, Flattery, false Information, Request, Pretence, or violent Importunity, to the overbearing of all whom he meaneth to oppress.

No



No marvel then, though many even of the best and faithfullest Subjects of the Land, do yield to the present times, and do keep silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for Duty to utter.

And in this kind it is not long sithence a worshipful and wise Friend of mine told me a Testimony in Secret, from the Mouth of as noble and grave a Counsellor as *England* hath enjoyed this many Hundred Years, I mean the late Lord Chamberlain, with whom my said Friend being alone at his House in *London*, not Twenty Days before his Death, conferred somewhat familiarly about these, and the like matters, as with a true Father of his Country and Commonwealth.

And after many Complaints in the behalf of divers, who had opened their griefs unto Counsellors, and saw, that no notice would be taken thereof, the said Noble Man turning himself about somewhat from the Water (for he sat near his Pond side, where he beheld the taking of a Pike, or Carp) said to him, it is no marvel Sir, for who dare intermeddle himself in my Lord's Affairs? I will tell you (quoth he) in confidence betwixt you and me, there is as wise a Man, as grave and as faithful a Counsellor, as *England* breedeth (meaning thereby the Lord Treasurer) who hath as much in his keeping of *Leicester's* own Hand writing, as is sufficient to hang him, if either he durst present the same to her Majesty, or her Majesty do Justice when it should be presented.

But

But indeed (quoth he) the time permit-
teth neither of them both, and therefore it
is in vain for any Man to struggle with him.

These were that Noble Man's Words,
whereby you may consider, whether my Lord
of *Leicester* be strong in Counsel this day or
no, and whether his Fortification be sufficient
in that place. But now if out of the Counsel,
we shall turn but our Ears into the Country
abroad, we shall find as good Fortification al-
so there, as we have perused already in
Court and Counsel, and shall well perceive
that this Man's Plot is no fond or undiscree-
t Plot, but excellently well grounded, and such
as in all Proportions hath his due Correspon-
dence.

Consider then the chief and principal parts
of this Land for Martial Affairs, for Use and
Commodity of Arms, for Strength, for Op-
portunity, for Liberty of the People, as dwel-
ling farthest off from the Prince; such Parts,
I say, as are fittest for sudden Enterprizes,
without danger of interception; as the North,
the West, the Country of *Wales*, the Islands
round about the Land, and sundry other
Places within the same, are they not all this
day at his disposition? Are they not all by
his Procurement in the Hands of his Friends
and Allies? In *York* is President the Man
that of all other is fittest for that Place,
that is, his nearest in Affinity, his dearest in
Friendship, the head of his Faction, and open
Competitor of the Scepter.

In *Warwick* is Captain his Wive's Uncle,
most assured to himself and *Huntington*, as
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one who at convenient time may as much advance their Designments, as any Man in *England*.

In *Wales* the chief Authority from the Prince, is in his own Brother-in-law, but amongst the People of (natural Affection) is in the Earl of *Pembrooke*, who both by the Marriage of his Sister's Daughter, is his Allie, and by Dependence is known to be wholly at his Disposition. The West part of *England* is under *Bedford*, a Man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans Faction.

In *Ireland* was Governour of late the principal Instrument appointed for their purposes, both in respect of his Heart and Affection towards their Designments, as also of some secret Discontentment, which he hath towards her Majesty and the State present, for certain hard Speeches, and in great Recompences, as he pretendeth, but indeed for that he is known to be of Nature Fiery, and impatient of stay, foreseeing that common on foot, which the next Competitors for their gain have painted out to him, and such others, more pleasant then the terrestrial Paradise it self.

This then is the *Hector*, this is the *Ajax*, appointed for the Enterprize when the time shall come, this forsooth must be another *Richard* of *Warwick*, to gain the Crown of *Henry* the 9th of the House of *York*, as the other *Richard* did put down *Henry* the 6th of the House of *Lancaster*, and placed *Edward* the 4th, from whom *Huntington* deriveth his Title—Therefore this Man is necessarily to be

be entertained from time to time ; as we now see he is, in some Charge and Martial Action, to the end his Experience, Power and Credit may grow the more, and so be able at the time to have Soldiers at his Commandment.

And for the former charge which he held of late in *Ireland*, as this Man had not been called away, but for execution of some other Secret, purpose for advancement of their designs, so be well assured, that for the time to come, it is to be furnished again with a sure and fast Friend to *Leicester*, and that Faction.

In the Isle of *Wight*, I grant that *Leicester* hath lost a great Friend, and a trusty Servant by the Death of Captain *Horsey*, but yet the matter is supplied by the Succession of another, no less assured unto him, then the former, or rather more, through the band of Affinity by his Wife.

The Two Islands of *Gersey* and *Guernsey*, are in the possession of Two Friends, and most obliged Dependents, the one by reason he is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane Proceedings, the other as now being joyned unto him by the Marriage of Mrs. *Besse* his Wives Sister, both Daughters to Sir *Francis*, or at the least to my Lady *Knowles*, and so become a Rival Companion and Brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his Servant. And these are the chief Keys and Fortresses, and Bulwarks within, without, and about the Realm ; which my Lord of *Leicester* possessing (as he doth) may be assured of the Body within, where notwithstanding

standing, as hath been shewed, he wanteth no due preparation for Strength, having at his Disposition, besides all Aids and other Helps, specified before, her Majesty's Horse and Stables, by Interest of his own Office of his Brother the Earl of *Warwick*, the Tower of *London*, and the Treasure therein, by the Dependence of Sir *Owen Hopton*, his sworn Servant, as ready to receive and furnish him with the whole, if occasion served, as one of his Predecessors was to receive his Father in King *Edward's* Days, for the like effect against her Majesty and Sister.

And in the City of *London* it self, what a Man at a pinch could do, by the help of some of the Principal Men and chief Leaders, and as it were Commanders there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his made Recorder, and other such his Instruments; as also in all other Towns, Ports and Cities of Importance, by such of his own setting up, as he hath placed there to serve his Designments, and Justices of the Peace with others, that in most Shires do wear his Liveries, and are at his appointment, the simplest within this Realm doth consider: Whereunto if you add his own Forces and Furniture, which he hath in *Killingworth* Castle, and other Places; as also the Forces of *Huntingdon* in particular, with their Friends, Followers, Allies and Co-partners, you shall find that they are not behind in their preparations for my Eord of *Huntingdon's* forwardness in the Cause. (quoth I) there is no Man I think which maketh doubt, marry for his private Forces, albeit they may be very good for any thing I do know to the contrary
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especially at his House within Twenty five Miles of *Killingworth*, where one told me, that some years past, that he had Furniture ready for Five thousand Men; yet do I not think but they are far inferior to my Lord of *Leicester*, who is taken to have excessive, and that in divers Places. And as for the last Castle mentioned by you, there are Men of good Intelligence, and no small Judgment, who report that in the same he hath enough to furnish Ten thousand good Soldiers of all things necessary both for Horse and Man, besides all other Muniti^on, Armour and Artillery, whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of Triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried back again, besides great abundance of Corn there laid up (as is said) sufficient for any great Exploit to be done within the Realm. And I know that the Estimation of this Place was such amongst many divers years ago, as when at a time, her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to die at *Hampton-Court*; a certain Gentleman of the Country came to my Lord of *Huntingdon*, and told him, that forasmuch as he took his Lordship to be next in Succession to her Majesty, he would offer a mean of great help, for compassing of his purpose after the decease of her Majesty, which was the possessing of *Killingworth* Castle; for at that time these Two Earls were not very great Friends, nor Confederates together, and that being had, he shewed to the Earl the great Furniture and Wealth which thereby he should possess for pursuit of his purpose.

The Proposition was not unliked, and the Matter esteemed of great Importance, and consequently received with great thanks.

But yet afterwards her Majesty by the great Providence of God recovering again, letted the execution of the Bargain, and my Lord of *Huntingdon* having to joyn Amity with *Leicester*, had more respect to his own Commodity, then his Friend's Security (as commonly in such Persons and Cases it falleth out) and so discovered the whole device unto him, who forgot not after from time to time to plague the Deviser by secret means, until he had brought him unto that poor Estate, as all the World seeth, though many Men be not acquainted with the true cause of this his Disgrace and bare Fortune.

To this answered the *Lawyer*: In good faith Gentlemen, you open great Mysteries unto me, which either I knew not, or considered not so particularly before, and no marvel, for that my Profession and Exercise of Law, restraineth me from much Company-keeping, and when I happen to be amongst some that could tell much therein, I dare not either ask, or hear, if any of himself began to talk, least afterwards the Speech coming to light, I be fetched over the Coals (as the Proverb is) for the same under the pretence of another thing.

But you who are not suspected for Religion have much greater Priviledge in such matters, both to hear and speak again, when Men of my Estate dare not: Only this I knew before, that throughout all *England* my Lord
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of *Leicester* is taken for the *Dominus factorum*, whose Excellence is above all others, infinite, whose Authority is absolute, whose Commandment is dreadful, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose Favour is Omnipotent, and for his Will, though it be seldom Law, yet always is his Power above Law; and therefore we Lawyers in all Cases brought unto us, have as great regard unto his Inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet Dominant, or as Seamen have to the North-Pole: For as they that sail, do direct their Course to the situation and direction of that Star which guideth them at the Pole: And as Astronomers who make Prognostication, and do foretel things to come according to the aspect of the Planet Dominant, or bearing rule for the time: So we do guide our Clients Bark, and do Prognosticate what shall ensue of his Case by the aspect, and inclination of my Lord of *Leicester*: And for that reason, as soon as ever we hear a Case proposed, our Custom is to ask what Party my Lord of *Leicester* is like to favour in the matter; for in all matters likely of importance he hath a part, or what may be gathered of his Inclination therein, and according to that we give a guess, more or less, what end will ensue.

But this my Masters, is from the purpose, and therefore returning to our former Speech again, I do say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provision of my Lord of *Leicester*, and his Friends, in such, and such Places; yet seeing him accounted Lord

General over all the whole Realm, and to have at his Commandment all the several Commodities and Forces pertaining to her Majesty, which you have mentioned before, and so many more as be in the Realm, and not mentioned; in fine, he having all, I could not but account him as he is a potent Prince of our State, for all Furniture needful for Defence or Offence, or rather the only Monarch of our Nobility, who hath sufficient of himself to plunge his Prince if he should be discontented, especially for his abundance of Money, which by the Wise is termed the sinews of Martial Actions: Wherein, by all Men's Judgments, he is better furnished at this day, then ever any Subject of our Land, either hath been hitherto, or likely may be hereafter.

Insomuch, that being my self in the last *Parliament*, when the Matter was moved for the Grant of a Subsidy, after that, one of Her Majesties Subjects had given very good Reasons why her Highness was in want of Money, and consequently needed the Assistance of Her Faithful Subjects therein: Another that sat next me of good Account, said in my Ear secretly, these Reasons I do well allow, I am contented in Money; but yet for Her Majesties Need I could make answer, as one answered once the *Emperor Tiberius* in the like Case and Cause: *Abunde ei pecuniam fore, si a liberto suo in societatem reciperet*: That Her Majesty should have Money enough, if one of her Highness's Servants would vouchsafe to make her partaker with him; meaning

my Lord of *Leicester*, whose Treasure must needs in one respect be greater than that of Her Majesties, for that he layeth up whatsoever he getteth, and his Expences he casteth upon the Purse of his Princesses.

For that (said the Gentleman) whether he do or no, it importeth little to the Matter, seeing both that which he spendeth, and that which he hoardeth is truly and properly his Princesses Treasure, and seeing he hath so many ways of Gaining, what should he make account of his private Expences? If he lay out one for a thousand, what can that make him the poorer? He that hath so Goodly Lands, Possessions, Signiories, and rich Offices of his own, as he is known to have; he that hath so special Favour and Authority with the Prince, as he can obtain whatsoever he listeth to demand; he that hath his Part and Portion in all Suits besides that pass by Grace, or else for the most part are ended by Law; he that may cope and change what Lands he listeth with Her Majesty, despoil them of all their Woods, and other Commodities, and rack them afterwards to the utmost Penny, and then return the same so Tenter-stretched, and bare, into Her Majesties Hands by a fresh Exchange, Rent for Rent, for other Lands never exhaunced before; he that possesseth so many Gainful Licenses to himself of Wine, and Oil, and Currans, Cloath and Velvets, with his new Office or License of Alienation, most pernicious under the Common-wealth, as he useth the same, with many other the like, which were sufficient

cient to enrich whole Towns, Corporations, Countries and Common-wealths: He that hath the Art to make Gainful to himself every Offence, Displeasure, falling out of Her Majesty with him, and every angry Countenance cast upon him; he that hath his share in all Offices of great Profit, and holdeth an absolute Monopoly of the same; he that disposeth at his Will the Ecclesiastical Livings of the Realm, maketh Bishops none but such as will do Reason, or of his Chaplains whom he listeth, and retaineth to himself so much of the Living as liketh him best; he that sweepeth away the Glebeland from so many Benefices through the Land, and compoundeth with the Parson for the rest; he that so scowreth the *Universities* and *Colleges*, where he is Chancellor, and selleth both Headships and Scholars Places, and all other Offices, Rooms and Dignities, that by Art or Violence may yield many; he that maketh Title to what Land, or other thing he pleaseth, and denieth the Parties to compound for the same; he that taketh the whole Forests, Commons, Woods and Pastures to himself, compelling the Tenants to pay him new Rent, and what he ceseeth; he that vexeth and oppresseth whomsoever he list, taketh from any what he list, and maketh his own Claim, Suit, and End as he list, he that selleth his Favour with the Prince, both abroad in Foreign Countries, and at home, and setteth the Price thereof, what himself will demand; he that hath, and doth all this, and besides this hath infinite Presents daily brought unto him
of

of great Value, both of Jewels and Plate, and all kind of Furniture and ready Coin: This Man, I say, may easily bear his own Expences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary his Prince when need shall require.

You have said much, Sir (quoth the *Lawyer*) and such Matter as toucheth nearly Her Majesty and the Common-wealth, and yet, in my Conscience, if I were to plead for my Lord at the Bar, I could not tell which of all these Members to deny: But for that you mention in the last part of his gaining by Her Majesties Favour both at home and abroad, touching his Home-gain it is evident, seeing all that he hath is gotten only by the Opinion of Her Majesties Favour towards him, which causeth many Men to repair to him with fat Presents, rather for that they suppose he may by his Favour do them hurt, if he feel not their Reward, than for that they hope he will labour any thing in their Affairs. You remember, I doubt not, the Story of him that offered his Prince a great Yearly Rent to have but this Favour only, that he might come every Day in open Audience, and say in his Ear, God save Your Majesty, assuring himself, that by the Opinion of Confidence and secret Favour, which hereby the People would conceive to be in the Prince towards him, he would easily get up his Rent again double told. Wherefore my Lord of *Leicester* receiving daily from Her Majesty greater Tokens of Grace and Favour, than this, and himself being no ill Merchant to make his own Bargain, for the best of his
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Commodity, cannot but gain exceedingly at home by his Favour. And for his Lucre abroad upon the same Cause, I leave to other Men to conceive, what it may be, since the beginning of Her Majesties Reign, the Times whereof, and the Condition of all *Christendom* hath been such, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have been constrained at one time or other, to sue to her Highness for Aid, Grace or Favour, in all which Suits Men use not to forget, as you know, the Parties most able by their Credit to further, or let the same. In Particular, only this I can say, that I have heard of sundry *French-men*, that at such time as the Treaty was between *France* and *England* for the Delivery of *Callis* unto us again in the first Year of her Majesties Reign that now is, when the *French-men* were in great Distress and Misery, and King *Philip* refused absolutely to make Peace with them except *Callis* were restored to *England* (whether for that purpose he had now delivered the *French* Hostages) the *French-men* do report, I say, that my Lord of *Leicester* stood then in great stead of their necessity for his Reward (which you may imagine was not small for a thing of such importance) and became a Suitor, that Peace might be concluded, with the Release of *Callis* to the *French-men*, which was one of the most impious Facts, to say the Truth, that ever could be devised against the Commonwealth.

A small matter in him (quoth the Gentleman) for in this he did no more but as Christ said of the *Jews*, that they filled up the measure of their Fathers Sins. For if you read the Story of King *Edward's* Time, you shall find it most evident, that this Man's Father before him sold *Bulloigne* to the *French* by like Treachery: For it was delivered up upon Composition without Necessity or Reason, the twenty first of *April*, in the fourth Year of King *Edward* the 6th. when he, I mean Duke *Dudley*, had now put in the *Tower* the Lord Protector, and thrust out of the Counsel the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, and so invaded the whole Government himself, to sell, spoil and dispose all at his own pleasure.

Wherefore this is but natural to my Lord of *Leicester*, by descent to make Merchandize of the State, for his Grandfather *Edmund* also was such a kind of Man.

An Evil Race of Merchants (quoth the *Lawyer*) for the Common-wealth, but yet, Sir, I pray you, said he, expound unto me somewhat more at large, the nature of these Licenses that you named, as also the changing of Lands with her Majesty, if you can set it down any plainer, for they seem to be things of exquisite Gain, especially his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or by her Highness's Offence towards him, for it seemeth to be a Device above all Skill or Reason.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know, that every falling out must have an Attone-ment again, whereof he being sure, by the
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many and puissant Means of his Friends in Court, as I have before shewed, who shall not give her Majesty rest until it be done, than for this Attonement, and in perfect Reconciliation on her Majesties part, she must grant my Lord some Suit or other, which he will always have ready provided for that purpose, and this Suit shall be well able to reward his Friends, that laboured for his Reconciliation, and leave also a good remainder for himself, and that is now so ordinary a practise with him, as all the Realm observeth the same, and disdaineth, that her Majesty should so unworthily be abused. For if her Highness fall not out with him so often, as he desireth to gain this way, then he picketh some quarrel or other to shew himself discontented with her, so that one way or other; this gainful Reconciliation must be made, and that often for his Commodity.

The like Art he exerciseth by inviting her Majesty to his Banquets and to his Houses, where if she come, she must grant in Suits ten times as much as the Charges of all amounts to. So that *Robin* playeth the Broker in all his Affairs, and maketh the uttermost Penny of her Majesty every way.

Now for the Change of Lands, I think I have been reasonably plain before, yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further Dealing therein to be of this sort. Besides the good Lands, and of ancient Possession of the Crown procured of her Majesties hands,

hands, and used, as before is declared, he useth the same Trick for his worst Lands he possesseth any way, whether they come unto him by Extort Means and plain Oppression, or through Maintenance or broken Titles, or by Couzening of simple Gentlemen to make him their Heir, or by what hard Title, or Unhonest Means soever (for he practiseth store of such, and thinketh little of the Reckoning) after he hath tried them likewise to the uttermost Touch, and let them out to such as shall gain but little by the Bargain, then goeth he and changeth the same with her Majesty for the best Lands he can pick out of the Crown, to the end that thereby he may both inforce her Majesty to the Defence of his bad Titles, and himself fill his Coffers with the Fines, and utmost Commodity of both the Lands.

Now, touching his Licences, thus they stand, first, he got Licences for certain great Numbers of Cloaths to be transported out of this Land, which might have been an undoing to the Merchants Subjects, if they had not redeemed the same with great Sums of Money, so that it redounded greatly to the Damage of all Occupiers about that kind of Commodity. After that, he had the Grant for carrying over of Barrel-staves, and of some other such like Wares. Then procured he a Monopoly for bringing in of Sweet Wines, Oils, Currans, and the like, whereof the Gain is inestimable. He also had the Forfeit of all Wine that was to be drawn above the old ordinary Price, with Licence to
give

give Authority to sell above that Price, wherein Captain *Horsley* was his Instrument. By which means it is incredible, what Treasure and Yearly Rent was gathered throughout the Land. To this add, now his Licences of Silks and Velvets, which only were enough to enrich the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, if they were decayed, as I heard often divers Merchants affirm. And his Licence of Alienation of Lands, which as in part I have opened before, serveth him not only to excessive Gain, but also for an extream Scourge to plague whom he listeth in the Realm: For, seeing that without this his License no Man can buy or sell, pass or alienate any Land, that any ways may be drawn to that Tenure, as holden in chief of the Prince, as commonly now most Lands may, he calleth into question whatsoever liketh him best, be it never so clear. And under this Colour, not only Enricheth himself without measure, but revengeth himself also where he will without all Order.

Here the *Lawyer* stood still a pretty while, biting the Lip, as if he were astonished, and said; Verily, I have not heard so many and so apparent things, or so odious of any Man that ever lived in a Common-wealth, and I greatly marvel at my Lord of *Leicester*, that his Grandfather's Fortune doth not move him much, who lost his Head in the beginning of King *Henry* the 8th's Days, for much less and fewer Offences in the same kind committed in the time of King *Henry* the 7th. for he was thought to be the Inventer of these Powlings
and

and Molestations wherewith the People were burthened in the latter Days of that King; and yet had he great Pretence of Reason to alledge for himself, in that these Actions were made to the King's use, and not to his, albeit, no doubt, his own Gain was also therein. Master *Stow* writeth in his Chronicle, that in the time of his Imprisonment in the *Tower*, he Wrote a notable Book, Entituled, *The Tree of the Common-wealth*, which said Book, the said *Stow* saith, that he hath delivered to my Lord of *Leicester* many Years ago, and if the said Book be so notable, as Mr. *Stow* affirmeth, I marvel that his Lordship in so many Years doth not Publish the same for the Glory of his Ancestors.

It may be (said the Gentleman) that the Secrets therein contained be such, as it seemeth good to my Lord of *Leicester* to use them only himself, and to gather the Fruit of that Tree into his House alone. For if the Tree of the *Common-wealth* in *Edmund Dudley's* Book be the Prince, and his Race, and the Fruit to be gathered from that Tree be Riches, Honors, Dignities and Preferments, then, no doubt, but as the Writer, *Edmund* was cunning therein, so have his two Scholars, *John* and *Robert*, well studied, and practised the same, or rather they have exceeded, and far passed the Author himself. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemency, as he was like to have broken down the main Boughs for greediness; the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to himself, and his Friends, as it is, and may
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justly be doubted, that when they have cropped all they can from the Tree, left them by their Father *Edmund* (I mean the Race of King *Henry* the 7th.) then will they pluck up the Stump by the Roots as unprofitable, and pitch in his place another Tree, that is the Line of *Huntingdon*, that may begin to feed a new with fresh Fruits again, and so for a time content their Appetites, until of Gatherers they become Trees, which is their Final Purpose to feed themselves at their own Discretion. And howsoever this be, it cannot be denied, but that *Edmund Dudley's* Brood have learned by this Book, and other means, to be more cunning Gatherers, than ever their Progenitor was that made the Book. First, for that he made profession to gather for his Prince, though wickedly, and these Men make Demonstration that they have gathered for themselves, and that with much more Iniquity. Secondly, For that *Edmund Dudley*, though he got himself near about the Tree, yet was he content to stand on the Ground and save himself from the Tree, as Commodity was offered; but his Children not esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the Tree, pluck, crop and rifle at their pleasure: And as in this second Point, the Son, *John Dudley* was more subtle than *Edmund* the Father. So in a third Point, the Nephew, *Robert Dudley* is more crafty than they both: For that he seeing the evil Success of these two, that went before him, he hath provided to gather so much in convenient time, and to make himself therewith
so

so fat and strong, wherein the other two failed, as he will never be in danger more to be called to account for the same.

In good faith (said the *Lawyer*) I thank you heartily for this pleasant Discourse upon *Edmund Dudley's* Tree of the *Common-wealth*, and by that Opinion, my Lord of *Leicester* is the most Learned of all his Kindred, and a very cunning Logician indeed, that can draw for himself so commodious Conclusions out of the perilous Premises of his Progenitors.

No marvel (quoth the Gentleman) for that his Lordship is Master of Arts in *Oxford*, and Chancellor besides of the same *University*, where he hath store, as you know, of many fine Wits, and good Logicians at his Commandment, and where he learneth, not only the Rules, and Art of Cunning Gathering, but also the very Practise, as I touched before, seeing there is no one *College*, or other thing of Commodity within that Place, where thence he hath not pulled whatsoever was possible to be gathered, either by Art or by Violence.

Touching *Oxford* (said I) for that I am an *University* Man my self, and have both Acquaintance with divers Students of the other *University*, I can tell you enough, but in fine, all tendeth to this Conclusion, that by his Chancellorship is cancelled almost all hope of Good in that *University*, and by his Protection it is like to come to Destruction. And surely, if there were no other thing to declare the odds and difference betwixt them

The Lord
Treasurer.

and our Chancellor, whom he cannot bear; for that every way he seeketh to pass him in all Honor and Vertue, it were sufficient to behold the present State of the two *Universities*, whereof they are Heads and Governors. For our own, I will not say much, least perhaps I seem partial, but let the thing speak for it self. Consider of the Fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiners Diligence: Look upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of *England*, and see where principally they have received their Furniture for Advancement of the Gospel; and on the contrary-side, look upon the Seminaries of *Papists* at *Rome* and *Rheines*, look upon the *Colleges* of *Jesuits*, and other Companies of *Papists* beyond the Seas, and see where hence they are specially fraught. The *Priests* and *Jesuits*, here executed within the Land, and other that remain, either in Prison or Abroad in Corners, are they not all in a manner of that *University*; I speak not to the Disgrace of any Good that remains there, or that have issued out thence into the Lord's Vineyard, but for the most part that are of this our Time, have they not either gone beyond the Seas, or left their Places for Discontentment in Religion, or else become Serving-men, or followed the bare Name of Law or Physick, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the Service of God's Church, or their *Common-wealth*? And where hence, I pray you, issueth all this, but by reason the chief Governor thereof is an Atheist himself, and useth the Place only for Gain and Spoil,
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for here hence it cometh, that all good Order and Discipline is dissolved in that Place; the Fervor of Study extinguished, the Publick Lectures abandoned (I mean for the most part) the Tavern and ordinary Tables frequented, the Apparel of Students grown Monstrous, and the Statutes and good Ordinances, both of the *University* and every *College* and *Hall* in private, broken and infringed at my Lord's good Pleasure, without respect, either of Oath, Custom or Reason to the contrary.

The Heads and Offices are put in and out at his only Discretion, and the Scholars Places either sold, or disposed by these his Servants and Followers. Nothing can be had there now without present Money, it is a common buying and selling of Places in that *University*, as of Horses in *Smithfield*: Whereby the good and Vertuous are kept out, and Companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lordship afterwards in all Affairs that shall occur. And as for Leases and Farms, Woods, Pastures, Parsonages, Benefices or the like, which belong any way to any part of the *University* to Lett or Bestow, these his Lordship and his Servants have so fleeced, shorn and scraped already, that there remaineth little to feed upon hereafter.

Albeit, he wanteth not still his Spies and Intelligencers in the Place, to advertise him from time to time, when any little new Morfel is offered. And the principal Instruments, which for his Purpose he hath had

there before this, have been two Physicians, *Bayley* and *Culpepper*, both known *Papists* a little while ago, but now just of *Galen's* Religion, and so much the fitter for my Lord's Humour; for his Lordship doth always covet to be furnished with certain chosen Men about him for divers Affairs, as these two *Galenists* for Agents in the *University*. *Dee* and *Allen*, two Atheists, for Figuring and Contriving: *Fulio*, the *Italian*, and *Loper* the *Jew*, for Poisoning, and for the Art of Destroying Children in Womens Bellies. *Darney's* for Murthering, and *Digby's* for Bawds, and the like in other Occupations which his Lordship exerciseth.

Wherefore to return unto the Speech where we began, most clear it is, that my Lord of *Leicester* hath Means to gain and gather also by the *University*, as well as by the Country abroad, wherein he beareth himself so absolute a Lord, as if he were their King, and not their Chancellor. Nay, far more than if he were their general and particular Founder of all the *Colleges*, and other Houses of the *University*, no Man daring to contrary or interrupt the least Word or Signification of his Will, but with his extream Danger: Which is a Proceeding more fit for *Phalaris* the Tyrant, or some Governor in *Tartary*, than for a Chancellor of a Learned *University*.

To this (answered the *Lawyer*) for my Lord's Wrath towards such as will not stand to his Judgment and Opinion, I can my self
be

be a sufficient Witness, who having had often occasion to deal for Composition of Matters betwixt his Lordship and others, have seen by experience, that always they have sped best, who stood least in Contention with him, whatsoever their Case were. For as a great and violent River, the more it is stopped and contraried, the more it riseth and swelleth big, and in the end dejecteth with more force the thing that made resistance: So his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realm, and accustomed to have his Will in all things, cannot bear to be crossed and resisted by any Man, though it were in his own necessary Defence.

Hereof I have seen Examples in the Causes of *Snowden Forest in Wales*, of *Denbeigh*, of *Killingworth*, of *Drayton*, and others, where the Parties that had interest, or thought themselves wronged, had been happy, if they had yielded at the first to his Lordship's Pleasure, without further question, for then they had escaped much Trouble, Charges, Displeasure and Vexation, which by resistance they incurred to their great Ruine, and loss of Life to some, and in the end were fain also to submit themselves to his Will, with far worse Conditions, than in the beginning were offered unto them, which thing was pitiful indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lord's Disposition.

*Poor Men
resisting
War-
wick's In-
closure in
Northal,
were hang-
ed for his
pleasure,
by Lei-
cester's
Authority.*

A noble Disposition (quoth the Gentleman) that I must give him my Coat if he demand

demand the same, and that quickly, also for fear, lest if I stagger and make doubt thereof, he compel me to yield both Coat and Dublet in performance of my Stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the World, marry, their End was always according to their Life, as it is very like it will be also in this Man, for that there is very small hope of his Amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such Matters unpunished in this Life, as well as in the Life to come.

But I pray you, Sir, seeing the Motion is now made of the former Oppressions so much talked of throughout the Realm, that you will take the pains to explain the Substance thereof unto me.

For, albeit, in general, every Man doth know the same, and in Heart doth detest the Tyranny thereof, yet we abroad in the Country, do not understand it so well and distinctly as you that be *Lawyers*,^r who have seen and understood the whole Process of the same.

The Case of *Killingworth* and *Denbeigh* (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter, and manner of Proceeding, though different in time, place and importance: For that the Lordship of *Denbeigh* in North-Wales being given unto him by her Majesty, a great while ago, at the beginning of his rising, (which is a Lordship of singular great Importance in that Country, having as I have heard well near 200 Worshipful Gentlemen Free-holders to the same) the Tenants of the Place

Leicester,
Lord of
Den-
beigh, and
his Oppres-
sion there.

Place, considering the present state of things, and having learned the hungry disposition of their new Lord, made a common Purse of 2000 *l.* to present him withal, at his first entrance; which though he received (as he refuseth nothing) yet accounted he the same of small effect for satisfaction of his Appetite, and therefore applyed himself, not only to make the uttermost that he could by Leases, and such like ways of Commodity, but also would needs inforce the Free-holders to raise their old Rent from 250 *l.* a year, or thereabouts; at which rate he had received the same in gift from her Majesty unto Eight or Nine Hundred Pounds by the Year, for that he had found (forsooth) an old Record (as he saith) whereby he could prove that in Ancient time long past, that Lordship had yeilded so much Rent, and therefore he now would inforce the present Tenants to make so much again upon their Lands, which they thought was against all Reason for them to do; but my Lord *per* force would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeild to his Will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Country about.

The like Proceedings he used with the Tenants about *Killingworth*, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift of 24 *l.* Yearly Rent, or thereabouts, hath made it better now then 500 *l.* by Year, by an old Record also found by great fortune in a Hole of the Wall, as it is given out (for he hath singular good luck always in finding out Records for his purpose) by vertue where-
of

The Manor of Killingworth, and Leicester's oppressions there.

of he hath taken from his Tenants round about their Lands, Woods, Pastures and Commons to make himself Parks, Chases and other Commodities therewith, to the Subversion of many a good Family, which was maintained there before this Devourer set foot in that Country.

*The Case
of Snow-
den Forest
most piti-
ful.*

But the matter of *Snowden* Forest doth pass all the rest, both for Cunning and Cruelty; the Tragedy whereof was this: He had learned by his Intelligences abroad (whereof he hath great store in every part of the Realm) that there was a goodly ancient Forest in *North-Wales*, which hath most infinite Borders about the same; for it lyeth in the midst of the Country, beginning at the Hills of *Snowden* (whereof it hath its Name) in *Carnarvanshire*, and reacheth every way towards divers other Shires.

When my Lord heard of this, he entred presently into the conceit of a singular great Prey, and going to her Majesty, signified that her Highness was oftentimes abused by the encroaching of such as dwelt upon the Forests, which was necessarily to be restrained.

And therefore beseeched her Majesty to bestow on him the Incroachments only which he should be able to find out upon the Forest of *Snowden*; which was granted: And thereupon he chose out Commissioners fit for the purpose, and sent them into *Wales*, with the like Commission, as a certain Emperor was wont to give his Magistrates, when they departed from him to Govern, as *Suetonius* writeth,

writeth, *Scitis quid velim, & quibus opus habeo*, you know what I would have, and what I have need of; which recommendation these Commissioners taking to Heart omitted no diligence in execution of the same. And so going into *Wales*, by such means as they used, by setting one Man to accuse another, brought quickly all the Country round about in 3 or 4 Shires, within the Compass of Forest Ground, and so entred upon the same for my Lord of *Leicester*.

Whereupon the People being amazed, and expecting, what order my Lord himself would take therein; his Lordship was so far off from refusing any part of that which his Commissioners had presented, and offered him, as he would yet stretch the Forest beyond the Seas, into the Isle of *Anglesey*, and make that also within the Compass and Bounds.

A ridiculous demonstration of excessive

Which when the Commonalty saw, and that they profited nothing by their complaining, and crying out of this Tyranny, they appointed to send some number of themselves to *London*, to make Supplication to the Prince, and so they did, choosing out for that purpose a Dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Country of *Lyne*, to deal for the whole, who coming to *London*, and exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Majesty for Redress of their Oppression, received answer by the procurement of my Lord of *Leicester*, that they should have Justice if the Commonalty would return home to their Houses, and the Gentlemen remain here to sollicite the Cause; which as soon as they had yeilded

Avarice.

ed unto, the Gentlemen were all taken, and cast into Prison, and there kept for a great space; and afterwards were sent down to *Ludlow* (as the place most eminent of all the Countrys) there to wear Paper of Perjury, and receive other Punishments of Infamy for their Complaining: Which Punishments, notwithstanding afterwards, upon great suit of the Parties, and their Friends were turned into great Fines of Money, which they were constrained to pay; and yet besides to agree also with my Lord of *Leicester* for their own Lands, acknowledging them to be his, and so to buy them of him again: By Reason whereof not only these private Gentlemen, but all the whole Country thereabouts, was, and is, in manner utterly undone.

And the participation of this Injury reacheth so far and wide, and is so general in these parts, as you shall scarce find a Man that cometh from that Coast, who feeleth not the smart thereof, being either Impoverish'd, Beggered or Ruinated thereby.

Whereby I assure you, that the hatred of all that is so universal and vehement against my Lord, as I think never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation as the very Name of my Lord of *Leicester* is; which his Lordship well knowing, I doubt not, but he will take heed how he goeth thither to dwell, or send thither his Posterity. For his Posterity (quoth the Gentleman) I suppose he hath little cause to be solicitous; for that God himself taketh care commonly, that Goods and Honours so gotten, and so maintained as his be, shall never trouble the Third Heir.

Mar-

Marry, for himself I confesse, the matter standeth as you say, that he hath Reason to forbear that Country, and to leave off his Buildings begun at *Denbeigh*, as I hear say he hath done, for that the universal Hatred of a People is a perilous matter. A

And if I were in his Lordship's Case, I should often think of the end of *Nero*, who after all his Glory, upon the Fury of the People, was adjudged to have his Head thrust into a Pillory, and so to be beaten to Death with Rods and Thongs. Or rather, I should fear the Success of *Vitellius* the Third, Emperor after *Nero*, who for his Wickedness and Oppression of the People, was taken by them at length, when Fortune began to fail him, and led out of his Pallace naked, with Hooks of Iron fastened in his Flesh, and so drawn through the City with Infamy, where laden in the Streets with Filth and Ordure cast upon him, and a Prick put under his Chin, to the end he should not look down, or hide his Face, was brought to the Bank of *Tyber*, and there after many Hundred Wounds received, was cast into the River.

So implacable a thing it is to incur the Fury of a Multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of Revenge; and so heavy is the Hand of God upon Tyrants in this World, when it pleaseth his Divine Majesty to take Revenge of the same. I have read in *Leander* his Description of *Italy*, how that in *Spoletto* (if I be not deceived) the chief City of the Country of *Umbria*, there was a strange Tyrant, who in the time of his Prosperity,

CON-

contemned all Men, and forbear'd to injure no Man that came within his Claws, esteeming himself sure enough for ever, being called to render an account of this Life, and for the next he cared little. But God upon a sudden turned upside down his Felicity, and cast him into the People's Hands, who took him, and bound his Naked Body upon a Block in the Market-place, with a Fire and Iron Tongs by him, and then made Proclamation, that seeing this Man was no otherwise able to make Satisfaction for his publick Injuries that he had done, every private Person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hot burning Tongs there ready, should take of his Flesh so much as was correspondent to the Injury received, as indeed they did, until the miserable Man gave up the Ghost, and after too, as this Author writeth.

But to the purpose, seeing my Lord little careth for such Examples, and is become so hardy now, as he maketh no account to injure whole Countrys and Commonalities together, it shall be bootless to speak of his Proceedings towards particular Men, who have not so great strength to resist as a Multitude hath.

Yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pitiful things published daily of his Tyranny in this kind, as do move great Compassion towards the Party that doth suffer, and horror against him who shameth not daily to offer such Injury.

As for Example : Whose Heart would *Mr. Ro-*
 but bleed to hear the Case before mentioned *binson's*
 of *Mr. Robinson* of *Staffordshire*, a Proper *Story.*
 young Gentleman, and well given both in
 Religion and other Vertues ; whose Father
 died at *New-haven*, in her Majesty's Service,
 under this Man's Brother the Earl of *War-*
wick, and recommended at his Death, this
 his eldest Son to the special Protection of
Leicester, and his Brother, whose Servant al-
 so this *Robinson* had been from his Youth up-
 wards, and spent the most part of his Living
 in his Service: Yet notwithstanding all this,
 when *Robinson's* Lands were entangled with
 a *Londoner* upon Interest, for his former
 Maintainance in their Service, whose Title my
 Lord of *Leicester*, though craftily, yet not
 covertly under *Ferris* his Cloak, had gotten
 to himself, ceased not to pursue the poor Gen-
 tleman event to Imprisonment, Arraignment and
 Sentence of Death, for greediness of the said
 living, together with the vexation of his
 Brother-in-law, *Mr. Harlecourt*, and all *Harle-*
 other his Friends, upon pretence forsooth, *court.*
 that there was a Man slain by *Robinson's* Par-
 ty, in defence of his own Possession, against
Leicester's Intruders, that would by violence
 break into the same.

What should I speak of others, whereof
 there would be no end? As of his dealings
 with *Mr. Richard Lee* for his Mannor of
Hook-Norton (if I fail not in the Name) with *Richard*
Mr. Lowick Grevil, by seeking to bereave him *Lee.*
 of all his Living at once, if the drift had ta- *Lowick*
 ken place : With *George Whitney*, in the be- *Grevil.*
 half *Whitney.*

Lord
Barkley.

half of Sir *Henry Leigh*, for enforcing him to forego the Controulership of *Woodstock*, which he holdeth by Patent from King *Henry* the 7th: Which my Lord *Barkley*, whom he enforceth to yeild up his Lands to his Brother *Warwick*, which his Ancestors had held quietly, for almost 200 Years together.

Arch bi-
shop of
Canter-
bury,
Sir John
Throg-
morton.

Lane.

Sir Drew
Drury.

What shall I say of his intollerable Tyranny upon the last Bishop of *Canterbury*, for Dr. *Julio's* sake, and that in so foul a matter? upon Sir *John Throgmorton* whom he brought pitifully to his Grave, by continual vexations, for a peice of faithful Service, done by him to his Country, and to all the Line of King *Henry* against this Man's Father, in King *Edward's* and Queen *Mary's* Days? Upon divers of the Lands for one Man's sake of that Name before mentioned, that offered to take *Killingworth* Castle? Upon some of the *Gifford's*, and others for *Throgmorton's* sake? For that is also his Lordship's Disposition, for one Man's sake, or Cause, whom he brooketh not, to plague a whole Generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allyed to the same: His endless persecuting of Sir *Drew Drury*, and many other Courtiers, both Men and Women.

All these, I say, and many other, who daily suffer Injuries, Rapines and Oppressions at his Hands, throughout the Realm, what should it avail to name them in this place, seeing neither his Lordship careth any thing for the same, neither the Parties aggrieved, are like to obtain any Release of Affliction thereby, but rather double Oppression for
their

their complaining. Wherefore, to return again, whereat we began: You see by this little, who, and how great, and what manner of Man my Lord of *Leicester* is this Day in the State of *England*, you see and may gather in some part, by that which hath been already spoken, his Wealth, his Strength, his Cunning, his Disposition.

His Wealth is excessive in all kind of Riches, for a Private Man, and must needs be much more than any body can likely imagin, for the infinite ways he hath had of gain so many years together; his Strength and Power is absolute and irresistible, both in Chamber, Court, Counsel and Country.

His Cunning in Plotting and Fortifying the same, both by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Counter-mines, by Trenches, Bulwarks, Flankers and Rampiers, by Friends, Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures or Dependants, or any other may serve his turn, is very rare and singular.

His disposition to Cruelty, Murther, Treason and Tyranny, and by all these to supream Sovereignty over others is most evident and clear.

And then judge you whether her Majesty that now reigneth (whose Life and Prosperity the Lord in mercy long preserve) have not just cause to fear, in respect of these things only; if there were no other Particulars to prove his aspiring intent.

No doubt (quoth the *Lawyer*) but these are great matters in the question of such a Case, as is a Crown, and we have seen by Ex-

H

ample

ample of the least of these Four, which you have here named, or rather some little Branch contained in any of them, hath been sufficient to have found just Suspicion, Distrust or Jealousie in the Heads of most wise Princes, towards the Proceedings of more assured Subjects then my Lord of *Leicester* in Reason may be presumed to be.

For that, the Safety of the State and Prince standeth not only in the readines and ability of resisting open attempts, when they shall fall out, but also (and that much more as Statutes write) in a certain provident watchfulness of preventing all Possibilities and Likely-hoods of Danger or Oppression: For that no Prince commonly will put himself to the Courtesy of another Man be he never so obliged, whether he shall obtain his Crown, or no, seeing the cause of a Kingdom acknowledgeth neither Kindred, Duty, Faith, Friendship nor Society.

I know not, whether I do expound or declare my self well or no; but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath Two points of assurance from his Subjects, the one that he is faithful, and lacketh Will to annoy his Sovereign, the other for that he is weak, and wanteth ability to do the same: The first is always of more Importance then the second, and consequently more to be eyed and observed in Policy, for that our Will may be changed at our Pleasure but not our Ability.

Considering then upon that which hath been said and specified before, how that my Lord of *Leicester* hath possessed himself of all the strength power and sinews of this Realm, and hath
made

made his Party so strong, as it seemeth not resistible, you have great Reason to say, that her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt; for that if his Will were according to his Power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Say not so good Sir (saith the *Scholar*) for in such a case truly I would repose little upon his Will, who is so many ways apparent to be most insatiable of Ambition: Rather wou'd I think, that as yet his ability serves not either for Time, Place, Force or some other Circumstance, then that any part of good will shou'd want in him, seeing that not only his desire of Sovereignty, but also his intent and attempts to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared by the very Particulars of his Powers and Plots already set down; which if you have the patience to hear a Scholar's Argument, by a Principle out of Philosophy is thus proved.

For if it be true, what *Aristotle* saith, that there is no Agent which worketh not for some final end; as the Bird buildeth not her Nest but to dwell, and hath her young ones there in, and not only this, but also that the same Agent doth always frame his work according to the proportion of his intended end; as when the Fox or the Badger maketh a wide Earth or Den, it is a sign that he meaneth to draw thither great store of Prey: Then must we also in Reason think, that so Wise, Politick and Fox-like an Agent as is my Lord of *Leicester* himself, wanteth not his end in these Plottings and Preparations

A Philosophical Argument proving Leicester's intent of Sovereignty.

of his; I mean an end proportionable in greatness to his Preparations; which end can be no less, nor meaner then supream Sovereignty, seeing his Provision and Furniture do tend that way, and are in every point fully correspondent to the same.

✎ What meaneth his so diligent besieging of his Prince's Person? his taking up the ways and passages about her, his Insolency in Court, his singularity in Counsel, his violent preparation abroad, his enriching of his Complices, the banding of his Faction with the abundance of Friends every where? What do these things signifie I say, and so many other, as you have well noted and mentioned before, but only his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did the same things portend in in times past, in his Father, but even that which they now portend in his Son? Or how shall we think that the Son hath another meaning in the very same Actions, then his Father had before him, whose steps he followeth?

I remember, that I have heard of divers ancient and grave Men in *Cambridge*, how that in King *Edward's* days, the Duke of *Northumberland*, this Man's Father, was generally thought of all Men to mean indeed, as afterwards he shewed; especially when he had once joyned with the House of *Suffolk*, and made himself a Principal of that Faction by Marriage; but yet for that he was Potent, and protested every where his great Love, Duty and special Care, above all others, that he bare towards his Prince and Country;

try; no Man durst accuse him openly, until it was too late to withstand his Power, as commonly it falleth out in such Affairs: And the like is evident in my Lord of *Leicester's* Actions (now albeit to her Majesty I doubt not but that he will pretend and protest as his Father did to her Brother) especially now, after his open Association with the Faction of *Huntingdon*, who no less impugneth under this Man's Protection, the whole Line of *Henry* the 7th for right of the Crown, then the House of *Suffolk* did under his Father, the particular Progeny of *Henry* the 8th.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I do not read in King *Edward's* Reign (when the matter notwithstanding was in Plotting) that the House of *Suffolk* durst ever make open claim to the next Succession; but now the House of *Hastings* is become so confident upon the Strength and Favour of their Fautors, as they dare both Plot, Practice and Pretend all at once, and fear not to set out their Title in every place whereat they came.

The boldness of the Titlers of Clarence.

And do they not fear the Statute (saith the Lawyer) so rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter Treason to determine of Titles.

Nay they need not (quoth the Gentlemen) seeing their Party is so strong and terrible, as no Man dare accuse them: Seeing also they know, that the procurement of that Statute was only to endanger, or stop the Mouths of the true Successors, whilst themselves in

the mean space went about under-hand, to establish their own Ambushments.

Well (quoth the *Lawyer*) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntingdon's* Title to the Crown, I will not stand with you, for it is a matter sufficiently known and seen throughout the Realm: As also, that my Lord of *Leicester* is at this day a principal Favourer and Patron of the cause, albeit some years past, he were an earnest Adversary and Enemy to the same.

But yet I have heard some Friends of his in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two which you have touched here, and so seem to believe the same.

And that is, first, howsoever my Lord of *Leicester* doth mean to help his Friend, when time shall serve; yet pretendeth he nothing to the Crown himself.

The Second is, that whatsoever may be meant for the Title, for compassing of the Crown, after her Majesty's death; yet nothing is intended during her Reign. And of both these points they alledge Reasons.

As for the first, that my Lord of *Leicester* is very well known to have no Title to the Crown himself, either by descent in Blood, Alliance, or otherwise: For the second, that his Lordship hath no cause to be a Malecontent in the present Government, nor hope for more Preferment, if my Lord of *Huntingdon* were King to morrow next, then he receiveth now at her Majesty's Hand, having all the Realm at his own disposition.

For the first (quoth the *Gentleman*) whether he meaneth the Crown for himself, or for his Friend it importeth not much, seeing both ways it is evident he meaneth to have all at his disposition.

And albeit now for the avoiding of envy, he gave it out as a crafty Fox, that he meaneth not but to run with other Men, and to hunt with *Huntingdon*, and other Hounds in the same Chase: Yet it is not unlike, but he will play the Bear, when he cometh to the dividing of the Prey, and will snatch the best part unto himself.

Yea, and these self same Persons of his Train and Faction, whom you call his Friends, though in publick to excuse his doings, and to cover the whole Matter and Plot, they must and will deny the matters to be so meant, yet otherwise, they both think, hope and know the contrary, and will not stick in secret to speak it, and amongst themselves it is their talk of Consolation. The Words of his special Counsellor the Lord *North* are known, which he uttered to his trusty *Pooly*, upon receipt of a Letter from the Court, of her Majesty's Displeasure towards him, for being a Witness at *Leicester's* second Marriage with Dame *Lettice* (although I know he was not ignorant of the first) at *Wainstead*, of which Displeasure this Lord making far less account then in reason he should, of the just offence of his Sovereign, said, that for his own part he was resolved to sink or swim with my Lord of *Leicester*; who (saith he) if the Cards may once come to shuffling (I will use but his

*The Lord
North's
words to
Mr. Pooly.*

own Words) I make no doubt but he alone shall bear away the Bucklers.

The words
also of Sir
Thomas
Layton
Brother-in-
law to my
Lord of
Leicester.

The Words of Sir *Thomas Layton* to Sir *Henry Nevil*, walking upon the Turrets of *Windsor* are known, who told him after long Discourse of their happy conceived Kingdom, that he doubted not, but to see him one day hold the same Office in *Windsor* of my Lord of *Leicester*, which now my Lord did hold of the Queen; meaning thereby the goodly Office of Constableship, with all Royalties and Honours belonging to the same; which now the said Sir *Henry* exercised only as Deputy to the Earl, which was plainly to signifie that he doubted not but to see my Lord of *Leicester* one day King, or else his other hope could never possibly take effect, or come to pass.

The words
of Mrs.
West,
Dame Let-
tice Sister.

To the same point tended the Words of Mrs. *Ann West*, Dame *Lettice's* Sister unto the Lady *Ann Askew*, in the great Chamber, upon a day when her Brother *Robert Knowles* had danced disgracefully and scornfully before the Queen, in presence of the *French-Mer*, which thing her Majesty believ'd to proceed of ill-will in him, both for the dislike of the Strangers in Presence, and for the Quarrel of his Sister *Effex*, it pleased her Majesty to check him for the same; with Addition of a Reproachful Word or two, full well deserved, as though done for despight of the forced absence from that place of Honour of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the Words) his Sister.

Which

Which words the other young Twig receiving in great dudgion, brake forth in great Choller to her forenamed Companion, and said, that she should see her Sister, upon whom the Queen railed (for so it pleased her to term her Majesties sharp Speech) to sit in her Place and Throne, being much worthier of the same, for her Qualities and rare Vertues, than was the other; which undutiful Speech, albeit, it were over-heard, and condemned of divers that sate about them, yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty, as I have heard sundry Courtiers affirm, in respect of the Revenge which the Reporters should abide at my Lord of *Leicester's* Hand, whensoever the Matter should come to light.

And this is now concerning the Opinion and Secret Speech of my Lord's own Friends, who cannot but utter their Conceits and Judgment in Time and Place convenient, whatsoever they are willing to give out publicly to the contrary, for deceiving of such as will believe fair painted words, against evident and plain Demonstration of Reason, I say Reason, for that if none of these Signs and Tokens were, none of these Preparations, nor any of these Speeches and Detections by his Friends, that know his Heart, should be yet in force of plain Reason, I could alledge you three Arguments only, which to any Man of Intelligence, would easily perswade, and give Satisfaction, that my Lord of *Leicester* meaneth first, and principally for himself in this Suit: Which three Arguments, for that you seem to be
attent

attent, I will not stick to run over in all brevity.

*The first
Argument
of Leice-
ster's
meaning
for himself,
before
Hunting-
don, drawn
from the
Nature of
Ambition.*

The first is, the very Nature and Quality of Ambition it self, which is such (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from Degree to Degree, and the more it obtaineth, the more it coveteth, and esteemeth it self both worthy and able to obtain, and in our Matter that now we handle, even as in Wooing, he that sueth to a Lady for another, and obtaineth her Good-will, entreth easily into a Conceit of his own Worthiness thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himself, while he speaketh for his Friend.

So much more in Kingdoms, he that seeth himself of Power able to put the Crown upon another Man's Head, will quickly step to the next Degree, which is to set it on his own: Seeing the Charity of such good Men is wont to be so orderly, as according to the Precept, it beginneth with it self first.

Again, we see that Ambition is jealous, suspicious and fearful of it self, especially when it is joyned with a Conscience, over charged with the Guilt of many Crimes, whereof it would be loath to be accountable to any Man, that might by authority take a review of his Life and Actions when it should please him. In which kind, seeing my Lord of *Leicester* hath so much to increase, as before hath been shewed by his wicked Doings, it is not like, that ever he will put himself to another Man's Curtesie, for passing his Credit in particular Reckonings, which he can no way answer or satisfe, but rather will stand upon

upon the gross Sum, and general *quietus est*, by making himself chief Auditor and Master of all Accounts; for his own part in this Life, howsoever he do in the next, whereof such Humors have little Regard, and this for the Nature of Ambition it self.

The second Argument may be taken from my Lord's own particular Disposition, which is such as may also give much Light to the Matter in question, being a Disposition, so well liking and inclining to a Kingdom, as it hath been hammering about the same from the first day that he came in Favour.

The second Argument, drawn from Leicester's particular Disposition.

First, By seeking openly to Marry with the Queens Majesty her self, and so draw the Crown upon his own Head, and so to his Posterity.

When that Attempt took no place, then he gave it out, as hath been shewed before, how that he was privily contracted to her Majesty, wherein, as I have told his Dealing before for Satisfaction of a Stranger, so let him with Shame and Dishonor, remember now also the Spectacle he secretly made for the perswading of a Subject and Counsellor of great Honor in the Cause (I mean the Noble Earl of *Pembroke*) to the end, that if her Highness should by any way have miscarried, then he might have Entituled any one of his own Brood, whereof he hath store in many Places (as is known) to the Lawful Succession of the Crown under the Colour of that Privy and Secret Marriage with her Majesty, wherein he will want no witness to dispose what he will.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, When he saw also that this Device was subject to Danger, for that his Privy Contract might be denied more easily, then he was able justly to prove the same after her Majesties Decease, he had a new fetch to strengthen the Matter, and that was to cause these words of (Natural Issue) to be put into the Statute of Succession for the Crown, against all Order and Custom of the Realm, and against the known common Stile of the Law, accustomed to be used in Statutes of such a Nature, whereby he might be able, after the Death of Her Majesty to make Legitimate unto the Crown, any one Bastard of his own, by any of so many Hackneys as he keepeth, affirming it to be the Natural Issue of her Majesty by himself: For no other Reason can be imagined, why the ancient usual words of Lawful Issue should so cunningly be changed into Natural Issue, thereby not only to indanger a whole Realm with new Quarrels of Succession, but also to touch as far as in him lieth, the Royal Honor of his Sovereign, who hath been to him but too Bountiful a Princess.

Fourthly, When after a time, these Fetches and Devices began to be discovered, he changed straight his Course, and turned to the *Papist* and *Scottish* Faction, pretending the Marriage of the Queen in Prison. But yet, after this, again, finding therein not such Success as contented him thoroughly, and having in the mean space a new Occasion offered of Bayl, he betook himself Fifthly to the
Party

Party of *Huntingdon*, having thereby, no doubt, as good meaning to himself, as his Father by joyning with *Suffolk*. Marry, yet of late he hath a new about once again for himself in secret, by treating the Marriage of young *Arabella* with his Son, Entituled, the Lord *Denbeigh*.

So that by this we see the Disposition of this Man, bent wholly to a Scepter; and albeit, in right Title, and Descent of Blood (as you say) he can justly claim neither Kingdom nor Cottage, considering either the Baseness or Disloyalty of his Ancestors, yet in respect of his present State and Power, and of his Natural Pride, Ambition and Crafty Conveyance received from his Father, he hath learned how to put himself first in Possession of chief Rule under other Pretences, and after to device upon the Title at his leisure.

But now to come to the third Argument, *The third*
 I say, that more, and above all this the Na- *Argument,*
 ture and State of the Matter it self, permit- *drawn*
 teth not, that my Lord of *Leicester* should *from the*
 mean sincerely the Crown for *Huntingdon*, *Nature of*
 especially, seeing there hath passed between *the Cause*
 them so many Years of Dislike and Enmity, *it self.*
 which, albeit, for the time, and present
 Commodity be covered and pressed down,
 yet by Reason and Experience, we know,
 that afterwards, when they shall deal toge-
 ther in Matters of Importance, and when
 Jealousie shall be joyned to other Circumstan-
 ces of their Actions, it is impossible that the
 former Dislike should not break out in far
 higher.

higher degree than ever before, as we shewed before in the Examples of the Reconciliation made betwixt this Man's Father, and *Edward*, Duke of *Somerset*, who bare Rule under King *Edward* the 6th. Both which Dukes of *Somerset*, after Reconciliation made with their old, crafty and ambitious Enemies, were brought by the same to Destruction soon after.

Wherefore, I doubt not, but my Lord of *Leicester* will take good heed by injoyning by Reconciliation with *Huntingdon*, after so long a Breach, and will not be so improvident, as to make him his Head, who now is but his Dependant.

He remembreth too well the Success of the Lord *Stanley*, who helped King *Henry* the 7th. to the Crown: Of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the same for *Richard* the Third, of the Earl of *Warwick*, who set up King *Edward* the 4th. and of the three *Percies*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the 4th.

All which Noble-men, upon Occasions, which after fell out, were rewarded with Death by the self-same Princes, whom they had preferred.

Matchia-
vel's Reason.

And that not without Reason (as Signior *Matchiavel* affirmeth) for that such Princes afterwards can never give sufficient Satisfaction to such Friends for so great a Benefit received. And consequently, least upon Discontent, they may chance to do as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others, the surest way is to Re-
pence

pence them with such a Reward as they shall never after be able to complain of.

Wherefore, I can never think, that my Lord of *Leicester* will put himself in danger of the like Success at *Huntingdon's* Hands, but rather will follow the Plot of his own Father with the Duke of *Suffolk*, whom, no doubt he meant only to use for a help, whereby to place himself in Supream Dignity, and afterwards whatsoever had befallen to the State, the other's Head would never have come to other end than it enjoyed. For if Queen *Mary* had not cut it off, King *John* of *Northumberland* would have done the same in time, and so all Men do know that were privy to any of his cunning Dealings.

And what *Huntingdon's* secret Opinion is of *Leicester* (notwithstanding this outward shew of Dependance) it was my chance to learn from the Mouth of a special Man of that hasty King, who was his Leiger or Agent in *London*; at a time falling in talk of his Master's Title, declared, that he had heard him divers times in secret complain to his Lady, *Leicester's* Sister, as greatly fearing, that in the end he would suffer Wrong, and pretend some Title for himself. Southouses

Well (quoth the *Lawyer*) it seemeth by this last Point, that these two Lords are cunning Practitioners in the Art of Dissimulation. But for the former whereof you speak, in truth I have heard Men of good Discourse affirm, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had strange Devices in his Head for deceiving of *Suffolk*, who was nothing so fine Witted
as

as himself, and for the bringing the Crown to his own Family: Amongst other Devices, it is thought that he had certain intention to Marry the Lady *Mary* himself, after once he had brought her into his own Hands, and bestowed her Majesty that now is, upon some one of his Children, if it should have been thought best to give her Life, and so consequently to have shaken off *Suffolk* and his Pedigree, with Condign Punishment for his bold Behaviour in that behalf.

Verily, this had been (quoth the Scholar) an excellent Stratagem, if it had taken place. But, I pray you, Sir, how could himself have taken the Lady *Mary* to Wife, seeing he was at that time Married to another.

Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you question like a Scholar, as though my Lord of *Leicester* had not a Wife alive, when he first began to pretend Marriage with the Queens Majesty, do you not remember the State of King *Richard* the Third; who at such time as he thought best for the Establishing of his Title to Marry his own Niece, that afterwards was Married to King *Henry* the 7th. how he caused secretly to be given abroad, that his own Wife was dead, whom all the World knew then to be alive, and in good Health, but soon afterwards she was seen dead indeed.

These great Personages, in Matters of such Weight, as is a Kingdom, have Privileges to dispose of Womens Bodies, Marriages, Lives and Deaths, as shall be thought for the time most convenient.

And

And what do you think, I pray you of this new Triumvirate, so lately concluded about *Arabella* (for so I must call the same though one of the three Persons be no *Vir*, but a *Virago*) I mean of the Marriage of young *Denbeigh* with the little Daughter of *Lennox*, whereby the Father in Law, the Grand-mother, and the Uncle of the new designed Queen, have conceived to themselves a singular Triumphant Reign. But what do you think may be the issue thereof? Is there nothing of the old Plot of Duke *John* of *Northumberland* in this?

A new Triumvirate, Leicester, Talbot and the Countess of Shrewsbury.

Marry, Sir, (quoth the *Lawyer*) if this be so, I dare assure you, this Sequel is enough pretended thereby: And, first, no doubt, there goeth a deep Drift by the Wife and Son, against old *Abraham* the Husband and Father, with the well lined large Youth: And, secondly, a far deeper, by Trusty *Robert*, against his best Mistress; but deepest of all by the whole Crew against the Designments of the hasty Earl, who thirsteth for a Kingdom with plain Intemperance, and seemeth (if there were plain dealing) to hope by this good People, shortly to quench his Drought. But either part, indeed and truth, seeketh to deceive others, and therefore it is hard to say, where the Game in fine will rest.

Well, howsoever that be (quoth the Gentleman) I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* will use both his Practise, and many more, for bringing the Scepter finally to his own Head: And that he will not only impoly *Huntingdon* to Defeat *Scotland*, and *A-*

rabella to defeat *Huntingdon*, but also would use the Marriage of the Queen Imprisoned, to defeat them both, if she were in his Hands, and any one of all three to possess her Majesty that now is, and also the Authority of all four to bring it to himself, with many other Fetches, Flings and Friscoes besides, which simple Men do not as yet conceive.

And howsoever, these two joynd Earls, do seem for the time to draw together, and to play booty, yet I am of opinion, that the one will beguile the other at the upshot. And *Hastings*, for ought I see, when he cometh to the Scambling, is like to have no better luck by the Bear, than his Ancestors had by the Bore, who using the Son and Heir of King *Henry* the 6th, and after in destroying the faithful Friends and Kinsmen of King *Edward* the 5th, for his easier way to Usurpation, made an end also of him in the *Tower*, at the very same day and hour that the other were by his Counsel destroyed in *Pomfret Castle*. So that where the Hazard of the Game is a Kingdom, there is neither Faith, neither good Fellowship, nor fair play amongst the Gamesters. And this shall be enough for this Point, *viz.* What good my Lord of *Leicester* meaneth to himself, in respect of *Huntingdon*. Touching the second, whether the Attempts be purposed in her Majesties days or no, the Matter is much less doubtful to him that knoweth, or can imagin what a Torment the delay of a Kingdom is to such a one as suffereth delay thereof, and feareth,

feareth, that every hour may breed some alteration, to the prejudice of his own conceived Hopes. We see oftentimes, that the Child is impatient in this Matter to expect the natural End of his Parents Life, whom, notwithstanding by Nature he is enforced to love, and who also by Nature is like to leave this World behind him, and after whose Decease, he is assured to obtain his desire, but most certain of dangerous event, if he attempt to get it while his Parent liveth.

Which four Considerations, are no doubt, of great force to contain a Child in Duty, and to bridle his Desire, albeit, sometimes not sufficient to withhold this greedy Appetite of Reigning.

But shall we think, where none of these four Considerations do restrain? Where the present Possession is no Parent, whose death must needs bring infinite Difficulties to the Enterprize, and in whose Life-time the Matter is most easie to be atchieved under Colour and Authority of the present Possession? Shall we think, that in such a Case the ambitious Man will over-rule his own Passion, and loose his Commodity? As for that which is alledged before for my Lord in reason of his Defendors, that his present State is so prosperous, as he cannot expect better in the next change whatsoever it should be, is of small moment in the Conceit of the ambitious Head, whose Eye and Heart is always upon that which he hopeth for, and enjoyeth not, and not upon that which he
I 2 already

already possesseth, be it never so good, especially in Matters of Honor and Authority.

It is an infallible Rule, that one Degree desired, and not obtained, afflicteth more than five Degrees already possessed can give Consolation.

The Story of Duke *Haman*, confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest in the World, under King *Assuerus*, after he had recounted up all his Pomp, Riches, Glory and Felicity to his Friends, yet he said, that all this was nothing unto him, until he could obtain the Revenge which he designed upon *Mardotheus* his Enemy. And thereby it cometh ordinarily to pass, that amongst highest in Authority are found the greatest store of Malecontents, that most do endanger their Prince and Country. When the *Percies* took part with *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke*, against King *Richard* the Second, their Lawful Sovereign, it was not for lack of Preferment, for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earldoms of *Northumberland*, *Worcester* and *Stafford* together, besides many other Offices and Dignities of Honor.

In like sort, when the two *Nevils* took upon them to joyn with *Richard* of *York*, to put down their Benign Prince, *Henry* the Sixth, and after again on the other side to put down King *Henry* the Fourth, it was not upon want of Advancement, they being Earls both of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Lords of many
nota-

notable Places besides : But it was upon a vain Imagination of future Fortune, whereby such Men are commonly led, yet had they not any smell in their Nostrils of getting the Kingdom for themselves, as this Man hath to pluck him forward.

If you say, that these Men hated their Sovereign, and that thereby they were led to procure his Destruction, the same I may answer of my Lord living, though of all Men he hath least cause so to do, yet such is the Nature of wicked Ingratitude, that where it oweth most, and disdaineth to be bound, there every little Discontentment, turneth double Obligation into tripple Hatred. This is shewed evidently in the time of his little Disgrace, wherein he did not only diminish, vilifie and abuse amongst his Friends, the inestimable Benefits he hath received from her Majesty, but also used to exprobrate his own good Services and Merits, and to touch her Highness, with want of Consideration and Recompence for the same: Which Behaviour, together with his hasty Preparation to Rebellion, and Assault of her Highness's Royal Person and Dignity, upon so small a cause given, did well shew what mind inwardly he beareth to his Sovereign, and what her Majesty may expect, if by offending him she should fall within the compass of his furious Paws, seeing such a Smoak of Disdain could not proceed, but from a fierce Furnace of Hatred within. And sure, it is a wonderful matter to consider what a little Check, or rather the bare Imagination of a small Overthwart, may

work in a proud and disdainful Stomach. The Remembrance of his missed Marriage, that he so much pretended and desired with her Majesty, doth stick deeply in his Breast, and stirreth him daily to Revenge, as also the Disdain of certain Checks and Disgraces received at some times, especially that of his last Marriage, which galleth him so much the more by how much Fear and Danger it brought him into at that time, and did put his Widdow in such open Frenzie, as she ragged many Months after against her Majesty, and is not yet quieted, but remaineth, as it were a sworn Enemy, for that Injury, and standeth like a Fiend or Fury at the Elbow of her *Amadis* to stir him forwards, when occasion shall serve.

And what effect such Female Suggestions may work, when they find an Humor proud and plyable for their purpose, you may remember, by the Example of the Dutches of *Somerset*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the Head of his only dear Brother, to his evident Destruction for her Contentation.

Wherefore, to conclude this Matter, without any further Dispute and Reason, seeing there is so much discovered in the Case, as there is so great desire to Reign, so great Impatience of Delay, so great Hope and Ability of Success, if it be attempted under the good Fortune, and present Authority of the Competitors, seeing the Plots be so well laid, the Preparations so forward, the Favourers so furnished, the Time so propitious, and so many

many other Causes concurring together, seeing that by deferring all may be hazarded, and by hastening, little can be indangered, the State and Condition of things well weighed, finding also the Bonds of Duty so broken already in the Conspirators, the Causes of Mislike and Hatred so manifest, and the Solicitors to execution so potent and diligent, as Womens Malice and Ambition are wont to be, it is more than probable, that they will not loose their present Commodity, especially, seeing they have learned by their Architipe or Protoplot, which they follow (I mean the Conspiracy of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* in King *Edward's* Days) that herein there was some Error committed at that time, which overthrew the whole, and that was the deferring of some things until after the King's Death, which should have been put in execution before: For, if in the time of their Plotting, when as yet their Designments were not Published to the World, they had under the Countenance of the King, gotten into their Hands the two Sisters, and dispatched some other few Affairs, before they had caused the young Prince to die, no doubt, but in Man's Reason the whole Designment had taken place; and consequently, it is to be supposed, that these Men being no fools in their own Affairs, will take heed for falling into the like Error by delay, but rather will make all sure, by striking while the Iron is hot, as our Proverb warneth them.

It cannot be denied, in reason (quoth the *Lawyer*) but that they have many helps, doing what they list now under the Pretence, Favour, Countenance and Authority of her Majesty, which they should not have after her Highness's Decease, but each Man shall remain more at liberty for his Supream Obedience, by reason of the Statute provided for uncertainty of the next Successor, and therefore, I, for my part, would rather counsel them to make much of her Majesties Life, for after that they little know what may ensue, or befall their Designments.

They will make the most thereof (quoth the *Gentleman*) for their own advantage, but after that what is like to follow the Examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the Second, as also *Henry* and *Edward* the 6th do sufficiently forewarn us, whose Lives were prolonged until their Deaths, were thought more profitable unto the Conspirators, and not longer.

And for the Statute you speak of, procured by themselves for the establishing the uncertainty of the next true Successor (whereas all our former Statutes were wont to be made for the Declaration and Certainty of the same) it is with Provifo as you know, that it shall not endure longer then the Life of her Majesty that now reigneth; that is indeed no longer then until they themselves be ready to place another; for then no doubt, but we shall see a fair Proclamation, that my Lord of *Huntingdon* is the only next Heir, with a bundle of Halters to hang all such as shall dare once to open their Mouths for denial of the same

At

At these Words the old Lawyer stepped back as somewhat astonished, and began to make Crosses in the Air after their Fashion (whereat we laughed) and then said; truly my Masters, I had thought that no Man had conceived so evil imagination of the statute as my self: But now I perceive that not I alone am malicious.

For mine own part, I must confess unto you, that as often as I read over this Statute, or think of the same, as by divers occasions many times I do, I feel my self much grieved and afflicted in mind upon fear, which I conceive, what may be the end of this Statute to our Country, and what privy meaning the chief Procurers thereof might have for their own Drifts against the Realm, and Life of her Majesty that now reigneth.

And so much more it maketh me to doubt, for that in all Records of Law, you shall never find to my remembrance, any one Example of such a Device for the concealing of the true Inheritor.

But rather in all Ages, States and Times, especially from *Richard* the 1st downwards, you shall find Statutes, Ordinances and Provisions, for Declaration and Manifestation of the same, and therefore this strange and new Device must needs have some strange and unaccustomed meaning, and God of his Mercy grant that it have not some strange and unexpected Event.

In sight of all Men, this is already evident, that never Country in the World was brought into more apparent danger of utter Ruin then
ours

ours is at this day, by pretence of this Statute.

For whereas there is no Gentleman so mean in the Realm, that cannot give a guess more or less, who shall be his next Heir, and his Tenants soon conjecture what manner of Person shall be their next Lord : In the Title of our noble Crown whereof all the rest dependeth ; neither is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who shall be her next Successor, nor her Subjects allowed to understand, or imagin, who in Right may be their future Sovereign.

An intollerable injury in a matter of so singular importance. For alas ! what shall become of this our Native Country, if God should take from us her most excellent Majesty, as once he will, and so leave us destitute on the sudden ? What shall become of our Lives, of our States, of our whole Realm or Government ? Can any Man promise himself one day longer of Rest, Peace, Possession, Life, or Liberty within the Land, then God shall lend her Majesty to reign over us ? Which albeit we do, and are bound to wish that it may be long, yet Reason telleth us, that by course of Nature, it cannot be of any long continuance, and by a thousand Accidents it may be much shorter. And shall then our most noble Common-wealth and Kingdom, which is of Perpetuity, and must continue to our selves and our Posterity, hang only upon the Life of her Highness alone, well stricken in years, and of no great good health, robustous or strong Complexion ? I was within hearing
some

some Six or Seven years ago, when Sir *Christopher Hatton* in a very great Assembly, made an Eloquent Oration (which after I weene was put in Print) at the pardoning and delivering of him from the Gallows, that by Error (as was thought) had discharged his peice upon her Majesty's Barge, and hurt certain Persons in her Highness's Presence, and in that Oration he declared and described very effectually what had ensued to the Realm, if her Highness by that, or any other means, should have been taken from us.

He set forth most lively before the Eyes of all Men, what Division, what Dissention, what Blood-shed had ensued, and what fatal dangers were most certain to fall upon us, whensoever that doleful day should happen, wherein no Man shall be sure of his Life, of his Goods, of his Wife, of his Children, no Man certain whether to fly, whom to follow, or where to seek Repose and Protection.

And as all the hearers there present did easily grant, that therein he said truth, and far less than might have been said in that behalf, things standing as they do: So may any one I know that heard these Words proceed from a Counsellor, that had good cause to know the estate of his own Country, entered into this cogitation, what Punishment they might deserve then at the whole State and Commonwealths Hands, who by letting her Majesty from Marriage, and then procuring this Statute of dissembling the next Inheritor had brought their Realm into so evident and inevitable Dangers.

For

For every one well considered, and weighed with himself, that the thing which yet only letted these Dangers and Mischiefs, set down by Sir *Christopher*, must necessarily one day fall upon us, and then say we, how falleth it out, that so general a Calamity, as must needs overtake us before it be long, and may for any thing we know to morrow next, is not provided for as well as foreseen? Is there no remedy, but that we must wittingly and willingly run into our own Ruin, and for the favour or fear of some few aspirers, betray our Country, and the Blood of so many thousand Innocents as live within the Land? For tell me (good Sir) I pray you, if her Majesty should die to morrow next (whose Life God long preserve and bless) but, if she should be taken from us, as by condition of nature and human frailty she may, what would you do? Which way would you take, or what Head or Party know any good Subject to follow in the Realm?

I speak not of the Conspirators, for I know they will be ready, and resolved whom to follow, but I speak of the plain, simple, well meaning Subjects, who following now the utter Letter of this fraudulent Statute (fraudulent I mean in the secret conceit of the cunning Conspirators) shall be taken at that day upon the sudden, and being put into a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crown, shall be brought into a thousand Dangers, both of Body and Goods, which are now not thought upon by them, who are most in danger of the same.

But

But unto her Majesty, for whose Good and Safety this Statute is only pretended to be made; no doubt, but that it bringeth far greater Dangers than any Device that they have used besides; for thereby under colour of restraining the Claims and Titles of true Successors (whose endeavours notwithstanding are more calm and moderate then of Usurpers) they make unto themselves a mean to foster and set forward their own Conspiracy, without controulment, seeing no Man of might may oppose himself against them, but with suspicion, that he meaneth to claim for himself; and so they being armed on the one side with their Authority, and Force of present Fortune, and defended on the other side by the pretence of the Statute, they may securely work and plot at their Pleasure, as you have well proved before that they do.

And whensoever, that their Grounds and Foundations shall be ready, it cannot be denied, but that her Majesty's Life lieth much at their Discretion, to take it or use it to their best Commodity, and there is no doubt but they will, as such Men are wont to do in such Affairs.

Marry, one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, that is, to prolong her Majesty's Days or Favours towards themselves at their pleasures, whereof it is not unlike, but they will have a due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden Accident they might be found unready.

They

They have good care thereof I can assure you (quoth the Gentleman) and mean not to be prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever, they will be ready for all Events, and for that cause they hasten so much their Preparations at this day more then ever before, by sending out their Spies and Sollicitors every where, to prove and confirm their Friends by delivering their common Watch-word, by complaining on all hands of our Protestant Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present state of our irreformed Religion (as they call it) by amplifying only the danger of Papists, and *Scottish* Faction, by giving out openly, that now her Majesty is past hope of Child-birth, and consequently seeing God hath given no better success that way in Two Women, one after the other, it were not convenient say they, that another of that Sex should ensue; which high commendation of the Law Salisque in *France*, whereby Women are forbidden to succeed: Which Speech though in shew it be delivered against the Queen of *Scots*, and other of King *Henry VII* his Line, that descend of Sisters; yet all Men see it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty that is present, as others to come, and so tendeth directly to mutation of the Succession, the principal purpose which I have declared before.

Here said I, for the rest which you spake of besides the Watch-word, it is common, and every where treated in talk among them; but yet for the Watch-word it self, for that you mean it, I think Sir, many know it not, if I were the first that told you the Story, as
per-

perchance I was; For in truth I came to it by rare hap, as then I told you, the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their own Faction, to another Nobleman of the same Degree and Religion, though out of the same opinion in these Affairs: And for that I am requested not to utter the second, who told it me in secret; I must also spare the Name of the first, which otherwise I would not, nor the time and place where I uttered the same.

You do well in that (said the *Lawyer*) but yet I beseech you let me know this Watch-word, if there be any such, for my instruction and help, when need shall require.

For I assure you that this Gentleman's former Speech of Halts hath so terrified me, as if any should come and ask me, or feel my inclination in these matters, I would answer them fully to their own content, if I knew the Watch-word, whereby to know them: For of all things I love not to be hanged for Quarrels of Kingdoms.

The Watch-word (said I) whether you Scholar, be settled or no. And if you answer yea, ^{Are you settled?} and seem to understand the meaning thereof, then are you known to be of that Faction, and so to be accounted and dealt withal for things to come, but if you stagger and doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the Mystery, then are you descried thereby, either not to be of that side, or else to be but a Puny, not well instructed, and consequently, he that moveth you that Question, will presently break off that Speech, and turn to
some

some other talk, until afterwards some occasion be given to perswade you, or else instruct you better in that Affair.

Marry, the Noble Man my Lord perceiving by the demanding, that there was some Myſtery in covert under the Question, took hold of the Words, and would not suffer the Expounder to ſlip away as he endeavoured, but with much entreaty, brought him at length to expound the meaning and purpose of the Riddle.

And this was the first occasion (as I think) whereby this Secret came abroad; albeit afterwards at the publick Communion, which were made throughout so many Shires, the matter became more common, especially amongst the Strangers that inhabit as you know in great numbers with us at this day; all which (as they say) are made most assured to this Faction, and ready to assist the same with great Forces at all occasions.

Good Lord (quoth the *Lawyer*) how many Secrets and Myſteries be there abroad in the World, whereof we simple Men know nothing, and suspect less. This Watchword should I never have imagined.

And for the great and often Assemblies, under pretence of Communion, though of themselves, and of their nature, they were not accustomed, and consequently subject to Suspicion, yet I never conceived so far as now I do, as neither of the Lodging and Entertaining so many Strangers in the Realm, whereof our Artizans do complain every where; but now I see the cause thereof,
which

which, no doubt is founded upon great Reason for the Purpose. And by this also, I see that the House of *Huntingdon* presseth far forward to the Game, and shouldreth near the Goal to lay hands upon the same, which, to tell you plain, liketh me but a little, both in respect of the good will I bear unto the whole Line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to be dispossessed; as also for the misery which I fear must necessarily ensue upon our Country, if once the challenge of *Huntingdon* take place in our Realm.

Which Challenge being derived from the Title of *Clarence* only in the House of *York*, before the Union of the two great Houses, raiseth up again the old contention between the Families of *York* and *Lancaster*, wherein so much *English* Blood was spilt in times past, and much more like to be poured out, if the same contention should be set on foot again, seeing that to the controversy of Titles wou'd be added also the controversy of Religion, which of all their differences is most dangerous.

Sir (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of Consequence indeed, and such as the very naming thereof maketh my Heart to shake and tremble thereat.

I remember well what *Philip de Comines* setteth down in his Story of our Country's Calamities, by the contention of these two Houses, distinguished by the Red Rose and the White; but yet both in their Arms might justly have born the colour of Red, with a fiery Sword in a black Field, to signifie the abundance of Blood and Mortality which en-

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sued in our Country, by that most woful and cruel contention. I will not stand here to set down the Particulars observed and gathered by the aforesaid Author, though a Stranger, which for the most part he saw himself, while he lived about the Duke of *Burgundy*, and King *Lewis* of *France* of that time, namely, the pitiful prescriptions of divers right Noble Men of our Realm, who besides all other miseries were driven to beg openly in Foreign Countrys, and the like.

Mine own observation in reading over our Countrys Affairs, is sufficient to make me abhor the memory of that time, and to dread all occasion that may lead us to the like in time to come, seeing that in my Judgment neither the Civil Wars of *Marcus* and *Sylla*, nor of *Pompey* and *Cesar* amongst the *Romans*; nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibellines* amongst the *Italians* did ever work so much woe, as this did to our poor Country.

Wherein by Reason of the contention, were Fought Sixteen or Seventeen pitched Fields in less then an Hundred years: That is, from the Eleventh or Twelfth year of King *Richard* the Second his Reign, when this Controversy first began to bud up, unto the Thirteenth year of King *Henry* the 7th, at what time, by cutting off the chief Titler of *Huntingdon's* House, to wit, young *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the contention was most happily quenched and ended, wherein so many Fields (as I have said) were foughten between Brethren and Inhabitants of our Nation. And

And therein, and otherwise, only about the same Quarel, were slain and murthered, and made away, Nine or Ten Kings, and Kings Sons, besides above Forty Earls, Marquesses and Dukes of Name, but many more Lords and Knights, Gentlemen, Captains and Common People without number; and by particular conjecture Two hundred thousand: For that in one Battel fought by King *Edward* the 4th, there are recorded to be slain on both parts, Thirty five thousand, seven hundred and eleven Persons, besides others Wounded and taken Prisoners, to be put to death afterwards at the pleasure of the Conqueror: And at fundry times after, Ten thousand slain at a Battel; as of those in *Barnet* and *Tenksbury*, both fought in one year.

This suffered our afflicted Country in those days, by this unfortunate and deadly Contention, which would never have been ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two Houses together in *Henry* the 7th.

Neither yet rested it so (as appeareth by *Chronicle*) until as I have said, the State had cut off the Issue Male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cause of divers Perils to *Henry* the 7th, by whose Sister the Faction of *Huntingdon*, at this day, doth seek to raise up the same contention again, with far greater danger, both to the Realm, and her Majesty that now reigneth, then ever before.

And for the Realm it is evident, by that it giveth room to Strangers, Competitors of the House of *Lancaster*, better able to maintain their own Title by the Sword, then

ever was any of our Lineage before them.

And for her Majesty's peril present, it is nothing hard to conjecture, seeing the same Title in the aforesaid Earl of *Warwick* was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather, by whom she holdeth, as he was fain twice to take up Arms in defence of his Right against the said Title, which was in those days preferred and advanced by the Friends of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry*: As also this of *Huntingdon* at this day, by his Faction, before that of her Majesty, tho' never so unjustly.

Touching *Huntingdon's* Title before her Majesty's (quoth the *Lawyer*) I will say nothing, because in Reason I see not by what pretence in the World he may thrust himself so far forth, seeing her Majesty is descended, not only of the House of *Lancaster*, but also before him most apparently from the House of *York* it self, as from the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the 4th, being the eldest Brother of that House.

Whereas *Huntingdon* claimeth only by the Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the younger Brother: But yet I must confess, that if the *Earl* of *Warwick's* Title were better then that of King *Henry* the 7th, (which is most false, though many attempt to defend the same by Sword) then hath *Huntingdon* some wrong at this day by her Majesty, albeit, in very truth, the attaint of so many of his Ancestors, by whom he claimeth, would answer him also sufficiently in that behalf

half, if his Title were otherwise allowable.

But I know, besides this, they have another fetch of King *Richard* the 3d, whereby he would needs prove his elder Brother King *Edward* to be a Bastard, and consequently his whole Line, as well Male as Female, to be void; which Device, though it be ridiculous, and was at that time, when it was first invented: Yet as *Richard* found at that time a Dr. *Shaw*, that shamed not to publish and defend the same at *Paul's* Cross in a Sermon: And as *John* of *Northumberland*, my Lord of *Leicester's* Father, found out divers Preachers in his time, to set up the House of *Suffolk*, and to debase the Right of King *Henry's* Daughter, both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, and other places; so I doubt not but these Men would find out also both *Shaw's*, *Sand's* and others, to set out the Title of *Clarence*, before the whole interest of King *Henry* the 7th, and his Posterity, if occasion serves: Which is a point of importance to be considered by her Majesty; albeit, for my part I mean not now to stand thereupon, but only upon that other of the House of *Lancaster*, as I have said.

For, as that most Honourable, Lawful and happy conjunction of the two Adversary Houses, in King *Henry* the 7th, and his Wife, made an end of shedding of *English* Blood, within it self, and brought us that most desired Peace, which ever since we have enjoyed by the Reign of their two noble Issues: So the Plot, that now is in hand, for the cut-

ting off the residue of that Issue; and for the calling back of the whole Title to the only House of *York* again, is like to plunge us deeper then ever the civil Discord did, and to make us the Bait of all foreign Princes: Seeing there be amongst them at this day some of no small Power, who pretend to be the next Heirs by the House of *Lancaster*, and consequently are not like to give over, or abandon their own Right, if once the Door be opened to contention for the same, by disannulling the Line of King *Henry* the 7th, wherein only the Keys of all Concord remain knit together.

And albeit, I know well, that such as be of my Lord of *Huntingdon's* party will make small account of the Title of *Lancaster*, as less rightful a deal then that of *York*; Yet I for my part mean not greatly to avouch the same, as now it is placed, being my self no favourer of Foreign Titles.

So indifferent Men have to consider, how it was taken in times past, and how it may again in time to come, if contention should arise.

How many Noble Personages of our Realm did offer themselves to die in defence thereof? How many Oaths and Laws were given and received throughout the Realm, for maintaining of the same, against the other House of *York* for ever?

How many worthy Kings were Crowned, and Reigned, of that House and Race? to wit, the Four most noble *Henry's*, one after another, the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, who both in Number, Government, Sanctity, Cou-

Courage, and Feats of Arms, were nothing inferior, if not superior, to those of the other House and Line of *York*, after the division between the Families.

It is to be considered also, as a special sign of the favour and affection of our whole Nation to that Family, that *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, though descending but of the last Son and third Wife of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was so respected for that only, by the universal Realm, as they inclined wholly to call him from banishment, and to make him King, with the deposition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the House of *York*, upon condition only that the said *Henry* should take to Wife a daughter of the contrary Family: So great was in those days the affections of the *English* Hearts, towards the Line of *Lancaster*, for the great worthiness of such Kings as had reigned of that Race, how good or bad soever their Title were, which I stand not here to discourse at this time, but only to insinuate, what Party the same found in our Realm in times past, and consequently how extream dangerous the contention for the same may be hereafter, especially seeing that at this day, the remainder of this Title is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger, whose power is very great, which no Lawyers are wont to esteem, as a point of no small importance for justifying any Man's Title to a Kingdom.

You Lawyers want not Reason in that Sir (quoth I) howsoever you want Right, for if you will examine the Succession of Governments from the beginning of the World,

unto this day, either amongst Gentile, Jew, or Christian People, you shall find, that the Sword hath been better than half the Title, to get, establish, or maintain a Kingdom.

Which maketh me the more appaled to hear you Discourse in such sort of new Contentions, and Foreign Titles, accompanied with such Power and Strength of the Titlers, which cannot be but infinitely dangerous and fatal to our Realm, if once it come to Action, both for the division that is like to be at home, and the variety of Parties from abroad.

For as the Prince whom you signifie, will not fail by all likelyhood to pursue his Title, with all the Forces that he can make, if occasions were offered, so Reason, State and Policy will inforce other Princes adjoyning, to lett and hinder him therein what they can, and so by this means shall become *Judah* and *Israel* amongst themselves, one killing and vexing the other with the Sword.

And to Foreign Princes we shall be, as the Island of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Athenians* and *Megareans*, and as the Island *Sicily* was afterwards to the *Grecians*, *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, and as in our days the Kingdom of *Naples* hath been to the *Spaniard*, *French-men*, *Germanians* and *Venetians*; that is a Bait to feed upon, and a Gain to fight for: Wherefore, I beseech the Lord to avert from us all occasions of such Miseries.

And, I pray you, Sir, for that we are fallen into the mention of such Matters, to take such pains, as to open unto me the Ground
of

of these Controversies, so long quiet now between *York* and *Lancaster*, seeing they are now like to be raised again.

For, albeit, in general, I have heard much thereof, yet in particular, I either conceive not, or remember not the Foundation of the same, and much less the State of their several Titles at this day, for that it is Study, and not properly appertaining to my Profession.

The Controversie between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* (quoth the *Lawyer*) took its actual beginning more than two hundred Years ago, but the Occasion, Pretence and Cause of that Quarrel, began in the Children of King *Henry* the Third, who died a hundred Years before that, and left two Sons, *Edward*, who was King after him, by the Name of *Edward* the first, and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third, *Edmund*, called Crook-back, Earl of *Lancaster*, and beginner of that House, whose Inheritance, afterward in the fourth Descent, fell upon a Daughter, Named *Blaunch*, who was Married to the fourth Son of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt*, for that he was born in the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*: So that by this his first Wife he became Duke of *Lancaster*, and Heir of that House.

And for that his Son *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* (afterwards called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended amongst other things, that *Edmund* Crookback, great Grandfather to *Blaunch* his Mother, was the eldest Son of King *Hen-*
ry

ry the third, and unjustly put by the Inheritance of the Crown, for that he was Crookback'd and Deformed. He took by force the Kingdom from *Richard* the second, Nephew to King *Edward* the third, by his eldest Son, and placed the same in the House of *Lancaster*, where it remained for three whole Descents, until afterwards *Edward*, Duke of *York* Descended of *John* of *Gaunt*'s younger Brother, making Claim to the Crown by the Title of his Grandfather, that was Heir to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt*'s elder Brother, took the same by force from *Henry* the 6th, of the House of *Lancaster*, and brought it back again to the House of *York*, where it continued with Trouble in two Kings only, until both Houses were joyned together in King *Henry* the seventh and his Noble Issue.

Hereby we see, how the Issue of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son to King *Edward* the third, pretended Right to the Crown, by *Edmund Crookback*, before the Issue of all the other three Sons of *Edward* the third, albeit, they were the elder Brothers, whereof we will speak more hereafter.

Now, *John* of *Gaunt*, though he had many Children, yet had he four, only, by whom Issue remaineth, two Sons and two Daughters. The first Son was *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Lancaster*, who took the Crown from King *Richard* the second, his Uncle's Son (as hath been said) and first of all planted the same in the House of *Lancaster*, where it remained
in

in two Descents after him; that is in his Son, *Henry* the fifth, and in his Nephew, *Henry* the sixth, who was afterwards destroyed with *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, his only Son and Heir, and consequently all that Line of *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* extinguished by *Edward* the fourth, of the House of *York*. The other Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, was *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, by *Katherine Swinford*, his third Wife, which *John* had Issue, another Duke of *Somerset*, and he had Issue, *Margaret* his Daughter, and Heir, who being Married with *Edmund Tudor*, Earl of *Richmond*, had Issue, *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, who after was named King *Henry* the seventh, whose Line yet endureth. The two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* were Married to *Portugal* and *Castile*, that is, *Philip*, born of *Blanch*, Heir to *Edmund Crookback* (as hath been said) was Married to King *John* of *Portugal*, and the other Princes, which have, or make Title to the same, and *Katherine*, born of *Constance*, Heir of *Castile*, was Married back again to *Henry*, King of *Castile* in *Spain*, of whom King *Philip* also is descended.

So that by this we see, where the remainder of the House of *Lancaster* resteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the seventh were extinguished, and what Pretext Foreign Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of *Huntingdon*, either now, or after her Majesties Days, will open to them the Door, by shutting out the rest of King *Henry's* Line, and by drawing back the Title of the only House of *York* again, which

which he pretendeth to do, upon this that I will now declare.

*The Issue of
Edward
the third,
1 Edward
the Black
Prince.*

King *Edward* the Third, albeit, he had many Children, yet five only will we speak of at this time, whereof three were elder than *John* of *Gaunt*, and one younger.

The first of the elder was named *Edward* the *Black Prince*, who died before his Father, leaving one only Son, named *Richard* the second, was deposed without Issue, and put to death by his Cousin Germain, *Henry* *Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt* (as hath been said) and there ended the Line of King *Edward*'s first Son, King *Edward*'s second Son was *William* of *Hatfield*, who died without Issue.

*2 William
of Hat-
field.*

*3 Lionel,
Duke of
Clarence.*

*4 John of
Gaunt,
Duke of
Lancaster.*

*5 Edmund
of Lang-
lev, Duke
of York.*

His third Son was *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, whose only Daughter and Heir, called *Philip*, was Married to *Edmund* *Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, and after that, *Ann* the Daughter and Heir of *Mortimer* was Married to *Richard* *Plantagonet*, Duke of *York*, Son and Heir of *Edmund* of *Langley*, the first Duke of *York*, which *Edmund* was the first Son of King *Edward* the third, and younger Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*. And this *Edmund* of *Langley* may be called the first beginner of the House of *York*, even as *Edmund* *Crookback* the beginner of the House of *Lancaster*. This *Edmund* *Langley* then having a Son, named *Richard*, that Married *Ann* *Mortimer*, sole Heir to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, joyned two Lines, and two Titles in one, I mean the Line of *Lionel*, and the Line of *Edmund* *Langley*, who were (as hath been said) the third and fifth Sons

Sons of King *Edward* the third. And for this cause the Child that was born of this Marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, seeing himself strong, and the first Line of King *Edward* the third's eldest Son, to be extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second, and seeing likewise *William* of *Hatfield*, the second Son, died without Issue, made demand of the Crown for the House of *York*, by the Title of *Lionel*, the third Son of King *Edward* the third.

And albeit, he could not obtain the same in his days, for that he was slain in a Battle against King *Henry* the 6th at *Wakefield*, yet his Son *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

This King at his death left divers Children, as, namely, *Edward* the fifth, and his Brother, who after were both Murthered in the *Tower*, as shall be shewed, and also five Daughters, to wit, *Elizabeth*, *Cicely*, *Anne*, *Katherine* and *Bridget*; whereof the first was Married to King *Henry* the seventh, the last became a Nun, and the other three were bestowed upon divers other Husbands. The Issue of Edward the fourth.

He had also two Brothers, the first was called, *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, who afterwards upon his deserts (as is to be supposed) was put to death by Commandment of the King.

And

The Ground
of Hun-
tingdon's
Title to the
Crown.

And this Man left behind him a Son, called *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, put to death afterwards without Issue by King *Henry* the seventh, and a Daughter, named *Margaret*, Countess of *Salisbury*, who was Married to a mean Gentleman, named *Richard Poole*, by whom she had Issue, Cardinal *Poole*, who died without Marriage, and *Henry Poole*, who was Attainted and Executed in King *Henry* the eighth's time, as also her self was. And this *Henry Poole* left a Daughter, Married afterward to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, by whom this Earl that now is, maketh Title to the Crown. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingdon's* Title?

The second Brother of King *Edward* the fourth, was *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, who after the King's death, caused his two Sons to be Murthered in the *Tower*, and took the Kingdom to himself, and afterward he being slain by King *Henry* the seventh at *Bosworth-field*, left no Issue behind him.

Wherefore King *Henry* the seventh descending (as hath been shewed) of the House of *Lancaster* by *John* of *Gaunt's* last Son, and third Wife, and taking to Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth of the House of *York*, joyned most happily the two Families together, and made an end of all Controversies about the Title.

Now King *Henry* the seventh had Issue three Children, of whom remained Posterity: First, *Henry* the eighth, of whom descended our Sovereign her Majesty, that now happily Reigneth

Reigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line.

Secondly, He had two Daughters, whereof *The Line* the first, named *Margaret*, was Married *of Scot-* twice, first to *James* the fourth, King of *land, by* *Scotland*, from whom are directly descended *Margaret,* the Queen of *Scotland*, that now liveth and *Daughter* to Henry her Son. And King *James* being dead, *the se-* *Margaret* was Married again to *Archibald* *venib.*

Pouglas, Earl of *Anguise*, by whom she had a Daughter, named *Margaret*, which was Married to *Matthew Steward*, Earl of *Lennox*, whose Son, *Charles Stewart* was Married to *Elizabeth Candish*, Daughter to the present Countess of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his only Heir, a little Daughter, named *Arabella*, of whom you have had some Speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descended from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the *The Line* 7th, called *Mary*, was twice married also, *and Title* first to the King of *France*, by whom she had *of Suffolk,* no Issue, and after his Death to *Charles* *by Mary,* *second* *Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by whom she had *Daughter* two Daughters that is *Frances*, of whom my *to Henry* Lord of *Hertford's* Children do make their *the se-* claim; and *Eleanor*, by whom the Issue of *venib.* the Earl of *Darby* pretendeth Right, as shall be shewed.

For that *Frances*, the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, by the Queen of *France*, was married to the Marques of *Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandon's* death, was made Duke of *Suffolk,*

Suffolk, in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queen *Mary's* time for his Conspiracy with my Lord of *Leicester's* Father.

The Issue of Frances, eldest Daughter to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. And she had by this Man three Daughters, that is, *Jane* that was married to my Lord of *Leicester's* Brother, and proclaimed Queen after King *Edward's* Death; for which both she and her Husband were executed.

Katherine the Second Daughter, had two Sons yet living, by the Earl of *Hertford*; and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The Issue of Eleanor, the second Daughter of Charles Brandon. The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, by the Queen of *France*, called *Eleanor*, was married to *George Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, who left a Daughter by her, named *Margaret*, married to the Earl of *Darby*, which yet liveth and hath Issue.

And this is the Title of all the House of *Suffolk*, descended from the Second Daughter of *Henry* the 7th, married (as hath been shewed) to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*.

And by this you see also how many there be, who do think their Titles to be far before that of my Lord of *Huntingdon's*, if either Right, Reason, or Consideration of home Affairs may take place in our Realm: Or, if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad are like to joyn and buckle with *Huntingdon's* Line for the Preheminence, if once the Matter fall again to Contention, by excluding the

the Line of King *Henry* the seventh, which God forbid.

Truly, Sir (quoth I) I well perceive, that my Lord's turn is not so nigh as I had thought, whether he exclude the Line of King *Henry* or not.

For if he exclude that, then must he enter the Combat with Foreign Titles of the House of *Lancaster*; and if he exclude it not, than in all appearance of Reason, and in Law too, the Succession of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the seventh, which you distinguished by the two Names of *Scotland* and *Suffolk*, must needs be as clearly before him and his Line, that descended only from *Edward* the fourth's Brother, as the Queen's Title that now Reigneth, is before theirs.

For, that both *Scotland* and *Suffolk*, and her Majesty do hold all by one Foundation, which is the Union of both Houses and Titles together in King *Henry* the seventh, her Majesties Grandfather.

This is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough in every Man's Eye, and therefore, no doubt, but as much is meant against her Majesty, if occasion serve, as against the rest, that hold by the same Title.

Albeit, her Majesties State (the Lord be praised) be such at this time, as it is not safety to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever is meant: And that in truth, more should be meant against her Highness, than against the rest,
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there is some Reason ; for that her Majesty, by her present Possession, letteth more their Designments, than all the rest together with their future Pretences.

But (as I have said) it is not Safety for them, nor yet good Policy, to declare openly what they mean against her Majesty.

It is the best way for the present to hew down the rest, and to leave her Majesty for the last Blow and Upshot to the Game.

For which Cause, they will seem to make great difference at this day between her Majesties Title, and the rest that descended likewise from *Henry* the Seventh, avowing the one, and disallowing the other.

Albeit, my Lord of *Leicester's* Father preferred that of *Suffolk*, when time was before this of her Majesties, and compelled the whole Realm to Swear thereunto ; such is the variable Policy of Men that serve the Time, or rather that serve themselves, of all Times for their Purposes.

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was present my self at some of those his Proclamations for that purpose. Wherein my Lord, his Son, that now liveth, being then a doer, as I can tell he was, I marvel how he can deal so contrary now, preferring, not only her Majesties before that of *Suffolk* (whereof I wonder the less, because it is more gainful to him) but also another much further off.

But

But you have signified the Cause, in that the Times are changed, and other Bargains are in hand of more importance for him.

Wherefore, leaving it to be considered of others whom it concerneth; I beseech you, Sir, for that I know your Worship hath been much conversant among their Friends and Favourers, to tell me, what are the Bars and Letts which they do alledge, why the Houses of *Scotland* and *Suffolk*, descending of King *Henry* the Seventh's Daughters, should not succeed in the Crown of *England* after her Majesty, who endeth the Line of the same King by his Son, for in my sight the Matter appeareth very plain.

They want no Pretences of Bars and Letts against them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay down in order, as I have heard them alledge. First, in the Line of *Scotland* there is three Persons, as you know that may pretend to Right, that is, the Queen and her Son, by the first Marriage of *Margaret*, and *Arabella* by the second. Against the first Marriage I hear nothing affirmed, but against the two Persons proceeding thereof, I heard them alledge three stops; one, for that they are Strangers born out of the Land, and consequently incapable of Inheritance, within the same, another, for that by sepecial Testament of King *Henry* the Eighth, authorized by two several Parliaments, they are excluded: The third, for that they are Enemies to the Religion now received amongst us, and therefore to be debarred.

Against the second Marriage of *Margaret* with *Archibald Douglas*, whereof *Arabella* is descended, they alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former Wife at the time of that Marriage, which lived long after, and so neither that Marriage Lawful, nor the Issue Legitimate. The same Bar they have against all the House and Line of *Suffolk*.

For, first, they say, that *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, had a known Wife alive, when he Married *Mary*, Queen of *France*, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances*, nor *Eleanor* born of that Marriage, can be lawfully born; and this is all I can hear them say against the Succession of the Countess of *Darby*, descended of *Eleanor*.

But against my Lord of *Hartford's* Children that come from *Frances*, the eldest Daughter, I hear them alledge two or three Bastardises more, besides this of the first Marriage.

For, first, they affirm, that *Henry*, Marquiss *Dorset*, when he Married the Lady *Frances*, had to Wife the old Earl of *Arundel's* Sister, who lived both then, and many Years after, and had a Provision out of his Living to her dying Day, whereby that Marriage could no way be good.

Secondly, That the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to the said Lady *Frances* by the Marquiss, by whom the Earl of *Hartford* had his

his Children, was Lawfully Married to the Earl of *Pembroke* that now liveth, and consequently could have no Lawful Issue by another during his Life.

Thirdly, that the said *Katherine* was never Lawfully Married to the Earl of *Hartford*, but bare him those Children as his Concubine, which, as they say, is defined and registred in the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Court, upon due Examination, taken by order of her Majesty that now Reigneth. And this in effect is so much as I have heard them alledge about these Affairs.

It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved, marry, yet by the way, I cannot but smile to hear my Lord of *Leicester* allow of so many Bastards now upon the Issue of the Lady *Frances*, whom in times past, when *Jane* her eldest Daughter was Married to his Brother, he advanced In Legitimation before both the Daughters of King *Henry* the eighth.

But to the Purpose, I would gladly know, what Grounds of Verity those Allegations have, and how far in truth they may stop from Inheritance, for indeed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before.

Whereunto (answered the Gentleman) that our Friend, the *Lawyer* could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speak without his Fee; though in some parts alledged, every other Man (quoth he) that knoweth the State and Government of *England*, may easily give his judgment also.

As in the Case of Bastardy, if the Matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no Right to Inheritance can justly be pretended: As also perhaps in the case of Foreign Birth; though in this I am not so cunning, yet I see by experience, that Foreigners born in other Lands, can hardly come and claim Inheritance here in *England*.

Albeit, to the contrary I have heard great and long Disputes, but such as indeed passed my Capacity, and if it might please our Friend here present, to expound the thing unto us more clearly, I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with Attention.

To this (answered the *Lawyer*) I will gladly, Sir, tell you my mind in any thing it shall please you to demand, and much more in this Matter, wherein by occasion of often Conference, I am somewhat perfect.

The Impediments which these Men alledge against the Succession of King *Henry* the Eighth's Sisters, are of two kinds, as you see.

*Bastardies
Lawful
Steps.*

The one known and allowed in our Law, as you have well said, if it may be proved, and that is Bastardy, whereby they seek to disable all the whole Line and Race of *Sussex*, and also *Arabella* of the second and latter House of *Scotland*, whereof it is to small purpose to speak any thing here; seeing the whole Controversie standeth upon a Matter of Fact only, to be proved or disproved by Records or Witnesses. Only,
this

this I will say, that some of these Bastardies, before named, are rife in many Mens Mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live, but yet let other Men look to this, who have most interest therein, and may be most damnified by them, if they fall not true.

The other Impediments which are al-^{3 Impedi-}ledged only against the Queen of Scots,^{ments a-} and her Son, are in number three, as you re-^{gainst} cite them, that is Foreign Birth.^{Scotland.}

King Henry's Testament and Religion; whereof I am content to say somewhat, seeing you desire it.

Albeit, there be so much already Published in Books of divers Languages beyond the Seas (as I am informed) concerning this Matter, as more cannot be said: But yet, as much as I have heard pass among Lawyers, my betters in Conference of these Affairs, I will not lett to recite unto you, with this Proviso and Protestation always, that what I speak, I speak by way of other Mens Opinions, not meaning my self to incur the Statute of Affirming and Avowing any Persons Title to the Crown whatsoever.

First, Then touching Foreign Birth.

There be some Men in the World, that will say, that it is a common and general^{The first} Rule in our Law, that no Stranger at all^{Impedi-} may inherit any thing by any means with-^{ment of} in the Land, which intruth I take to be^{Foreign} spoken without ground in that general^{Birth.} Sense: For I could never yet come to the

sight of any such common or universal Rule, and I know, that divers Examples may be alledged in sundry Cases to the contrary; and by that which is expressly set down in the seventh and ninth year of King *Edward* the fourth, and in the eleventh and fourteenth Year of King *Henry* the fourth, it appeareth plainly, that a Stranger may purchase Lands in *England*, as also inherit by his Wife, if he Marry an Inheritrix.

*A maxim
against A.
liens.*

Wherefore, this common Rule is to be restrained from that Generality unto proper Inheritance only, in which Sense, I do easily grant that our Common-Law hath been of ancient, and is at this day, that no Person born out of the Allegiance of the King of *England*, whose Father and Mother were not of the same Allegiance at the time of his Birth, shall be able to have or demand any heritage within the same Allegiance, or be Heir to any Person.

And this Rule of our Common Law is gathered out of the self same Words of a Statute made in the Twenty fifth year of King *Edward* the third, which indeed is the only place of effect, that can be alledged out of our Law, against the Inheritance of strangers, in such sense, and cases as we treat of.

And albeit, now the common Law of our Country do run thus in general, yet will the Friends of the *Scottish* claim a farm, that thereby

thereby that Title is nothing lett or hindred at all towards the Crown.

*Reasons
why the
Scottish*

And that for divers manifest and weighty Reasons whereof the principal are these that ensue.

*Titles
not letted
by the
Maxims in*

First, it is a common and general Rule of our *English* Laws, that no Rule, Axiom or Maxim of Law, be it never so general, can touch or bind the Crown, except expresse mention be made thereof.

*Law a-
gainst Ali-
ens.*

*The first
Reason.*

For that the King and Crown have great Priviledge or Prerogative, above the State and Affairs of Subjects, and great Differences allowed in points of Law.

As for Example, it is a general and common Rule of Law, that the Wife, after the decease of her Husband, shall enjoy the thirds of his Lands ; but yet, the Queen shall not enjoy the third part of the Crown, after the decease of the King, as well appeareth by experience and is to be seen by Law: *Anno 5 and 22 of Edward the third, and Anno 9 and 28 of Henry the sixth.*

Also, it is a common Rule, that the Husband shall hold his Wives Lands after her Death, as Tenant by Courtesy, during his Life ; but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdom.

In like manner, it is a common and general Rule, that if a Man die seized of Land in Fee simple, having Daughters, and no Son, his Lands shall be divided by equal Portions amongst his Daughters, which holdeth

not

not in the Crown, but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if she were the Issue Male.

So is it a common Rule in our Law, that the Executors shall have all the Goods and Chattels of the Testator: but yet not so in the Crown.

And so in many other Causes and Cases, which might be recited, it is evident, that the Crown hath Priviledge above others, and can be subject to no Rule, be it never so general, except exprefs mention thereof be made in the same Law, as it is not in the former Place and Statute alledged, but rather to the contrary (as after shall be shewed) there is exprefs exception of such as descend of Royal Blood.

The Second Reason.

The Second Reason is, for that the Demand or Title of a Crown, cannot in true sense be comprehended under the Words of the former Statute, forbidding Aliens to demand Heritage within the Allegiance of *England*, and that for two respects: The one for that the Crown it self cannot be called an heritage of Allegiance, or within Allegiance: For that it is holden of no Superior upon Earth, but immediately from God himself: The Second for that this Statute treateth only, and meaneth of Inheritance, by descent or heir of the same.

For I have shewed before, that Aliens may hold Lands by purchase, within our Dominion, and then say they, the Crown is a thing

thing incorporate, and descendeth not according to the common course of other private Inheritances, but goeth by succession, as other Incorporations do.

In sign whereof it is evident, that albeit the King be more favoured in all his doings, then any common person shall be; yet cannot be avoided by Law his Grants, and Letters Patents, by reason of his Non-age, as other Infants, and common Heirs under age may do, but always be said to be full age, in respect of his Crown: Even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Dean, and other person incorporate shall be; which cannot by any means in Law be said to be within age, in respect of their Incorporations; which thing maketh an evident difference in our case from the meaning of the former Statute; for that a Prior, Dean, or Parson, being Aliens, and no Denisons, might always in time of Peace demand Lands in *England*, in respect of their Incorporations, notwithstanding the Statute or Common-law against Aliens, as appeareth by many Book Cases yet extant, as also by the Statute made in the time of King *Richard* the Second, which was after the aforesaid of King *Edward* the Third.

The Third Reason is, for that in the former Statute it self of King *Edward* the Third, there are expressly exempted from this general Rule, *Infants du Roy*, that is, the King's Off-spring or Issue, as the Word Infant doth signifie both in *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Countrys, as the Latin

The Third Reason.

tin Word *Liberi*, which answereth the same, is taken commonly in the Civil Law: Neither may we restrain the *French* Words of that Statute, *Infants du Roy*, that is the King's Children, only of the first degree, as some do; for that the barrenness of our Language doth yeild, us no other word for the same; but rather that thereby is understood, as well the Nephews, and other Descendents of the King or Royal Blood, as his immediate Children.

For it were both unreasonable and ridiculous, that King *Edward* by this Statute, would go about to disinherit his own Nephews, if he should have any born out of his own Allegiance, as easily he might at that time, his Sons being much abroad from *England*, and the black Prince, his eldest Son, having two Children born beyond the Seas: And so consequently it is apparent, that this Rule or Maxim against Aliens set down, is no way to be stretched against the descendents of the King, or of the Blood Royal.

The fourth
Reason.

The Fourth Reason is, that the meaning of King *Edward* (the Children living at such time as this Statute was made) could not be, that any of their Lineage or Issue should be excluded in Law from inheritance of their Right to the Crown by their Foreign Birth wheresoever.

For then they would not so much have dispersed their own Blood in other Countries,

tries, as they did by giving their Daughters to Strangers.

As *Lyonel*, the King's Third Son, was *The match-* married in *Millan*; and *John of Gaunt* the *es of En-* Fourth Son, gave his Two Daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine*, to *Portugal* and *Castile*, *gland* and his Neice *Joan* to the King of *Scots*; *with Fo-* as also *Thomas of Woodstock*, the youngest *reigners.* Brother married his Two Daughters, the one to the King of *Spain*, the other to the Duke of *Britain*: Which no doubt they being wise Princes, and so near of the Blood-royal, would not have done it, if they had imagined, that thereby their Issue should have lost any Claim or Title to the Crown of *England*; and therefore it is most evident, that no such Bar was then extent or imagined.

The fifth reason is, that divers Persons, *The fifth Reason.* born out of all *English* Dominions and Allegiance, both before the Conquest, since have been admitted to the Succession of our Crown, as Lawful Inheritors, without any exception against them, for their Foreign Birth.

As before the Conquest, is evident in young *Flore's History,* *Edgar*, born in *Hungary*, and thence called *Anno* home to inherit the Crown, by his great *1066.* Uncle King *Edward* the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realm; the Bishop of *Worcester*, being sent as Ambassador to fetch him

him home with his Father, named *Edward* the Out-law.

And since the Conquest, it appeareth plainly in King *Stephen*, and King *Henry* the Second, both of them out of *English* Dominions, their Parents also at their Birth, being not of the Allegiance, and yet were they both admitted to the Crown: Young Prince *Arthur* in like manner, Duke of *Britain* by his Mother *Constance*, that match'd with *Jeffery*, King *Henry* the Second's Son, was declared by King *Richard* his Uncle, at his departure towards *Jerusalem*, and by the whole Realm, for Lawful Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, though he was born in *Britain* out of *English* Allegiance, and so he was taken and adjudged by all the World at that day.

Albeit, after King *Richard*'s Death, his other Uncle *John* most tyrannously, took both his Kingdom and his Life from him: For which notable injustice, he was detested of Men, both abroad and at home, and most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold Plagues, both upon himself and the Realm, that yeilded to his Usurpation.

So that by that it appeareth, what the practice of our Country hath been from time to time in this case, of Foreign Birth, which practice is the best Interpreter of our *English* Law,

Law, which dependeth especially and most of all upon Custom; nor can the Adversaries alledge any one Example to the contrary.

Their Sixth Reason is of the Judgment and Sentence of King *Henry* the 7th, and of his Counsel, who being together in Consultation at a certain time about the Marriage of *Margaret* the eldest Daughter into *Scotland*, some of his Counsel moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the King's Issue Male should fail, and so the Succession devolve to the Heirs of the said *Margaret*, (as now it doth) whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer, that if any such event shou'd be, it could not be prejudicial to *England*, being the bigger part, but rather beneficial, for that should draw *Scotland* to *England*, that is, the lesser to the more, even as in times past, it happened in *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, and some other Provinces: Which Answer appeased all doubts, and gave singular contentation to those of his Counsel, as *Polydor* writeth, who lived at that time, and wrote the special matters of that Reign, by the King's own instruction.

So that thereby we see no question made of King *Henry* and his Counsellors, touching Foreign Birth, to lett the Succession of the Lady *Margaret's* Issue; which no doubt would never have been omitted in that
Learn-

Learned Assembly, if any Law at that time had been esteemed or imagined to bar the same.

These are Six of their principallest Reasons, to prove that neither by the Words nor Meaning of our Common Laws, nor yet by Custom or Practice of our Realm, an Alien may be debarred from claim of his Interest to the Crown, when it falleth to him by rightful descent in Blood and Succession.

*The Queen
of Scots
and her
Son no
Alien.*

But in the particular case of the Queen of Scott's and her Son, they do add another reason or two, thereby to prove them in very deed no Aliens ; not only in respect of their often and continual mixture with *English* Blood from the beginning (and especially of late the Queen's Grandmother and Husband being *English*, and so her Son begotten of an *English* Father) but also for two other Causes and Reasons, which seem in truth of very good importance too.

Reason 1.

The first is, for that *Scotland* by all *Englishmen* (howsoever the *Scots* denie the same) is taken and holden as Subject to *England*, by way of homage, which many of their Kings at divers times have acknowledged, and consequently the Queen and her Son, being born in *England*, are not born out of the Allegiance of *England*, and so no Foreigners.

The

The second cause or reason, for that the fore-nam'd Statute of Foreigners in the 25th year of King *Edward III.* is intitul'd of those that are beyond the Seas, whereby cannot be understood *Scotland*, for it is a piece of the Continent Land within the Seas, and whereby also cannot be understood our old Records in *England*, that talk of service to be done within these two Countries, and that use these *Latin* words, *Infra quatuor Maria*, or in *French*, *Deus lez quatre Ners*, that is, within the four Seas; whereby must needs be understood as well *Scotland* as *England*, and that perhaps for the reason beforementioned, of the subjection of *Scotland* by way of homage to the Crown of *England*, in respect whereof, it may be that it was accounted of old but one Dominion or Allegiance; and consequently no Man born therein can be counted an Alien to *England*. And this shall suffice for the first point touching Foreign Nativity. For the second impediment objected, which is, the Testament of *Henry VIII.* authoriz'd by the Parliament, whereby they affirm the Succession of *Scotland* not to be excluded, but only that they are put back behind the Succession of the House of *Suffolk*. For in that pretended Testament, which after shall be prov'd to be none indeed, King *Henry* so disposeth that after his own Children, if they should chance to die without issue, the Crown should pass to the Heirs of *Frances* and *Eliaenor* his Neices by his youngest Sister *Mary*, Queen of *France*,
M and

and after them deceasing also without Issue, the Succession to return to the next Heirs again. Whereby it is evident, that the Succession of *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*'s eldest Sister is not excluded, but thrust back only from their due place and order to expect the remainders, which may in time be left by the younger; whereof in my opinion do ensue some considerations against the present Pretenders themselves. First, That in King *Henry*'s judgment, the former pretended rule of Foreign Birth was no sufficient impediment against *Scotland*; for if it had been, no doubt but that he would have nam'd the same in his alledg'd Testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that Succession, but there is no such thing in the Testament. Secondly, if they admit this Testament which allotteth the Crown to *Scotland* next after *Suffolk*, which by all Mens assertions is excluded by Bastardy; it must needs follow, that *Scotland* by their own judgment is next, and so this Testament will make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparently, but only that it preferreth the House of *Suffolk* before the House of *Scotland*. And therefore I think, Sir, that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in allledging this Testament. For if, suppose, that no Man of my Lord *Huntingdon*'s will alledge or urge the Testimony of this Testament, but rather some Friends of the House of *Suffolk*, in whose
favour

favour, I take it, that it was first of all forg'd.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I stand obstinately in the contrary, for that it is hard to judge sometimes of what Faction each one is, who discourseth of these affairs. But yet I marvel (if it is as you say) *Leicester's* Father, after King *Edward's* death, made no mention thereof in the favour of *Suffolk*, in the other Testament which then he proclaim'd, and made by King *Edward* deceas'd, for preferment of *Suffolk* before his own Sister. The Cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) that it made not sufficiently for his purpose, which was, to disinherit the two Daughters of King *Henry* himself, and advance the House of *Suffolk* above them both.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that it be so much exalted of late by the Father, above all Order, Right, Rank or Degree, should now be so much debas'd by the Son, as tho' it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be trodden under foot for plain Bastardy. And you see by this how true it is which I told you before, that the Race of the *Dudleyes* are most cunning Merchants to make their gain of all things, Men and Times. And as we have seen now two Testaments alledg'd, the one of the King's Father, the other of the King's Son, and both of them in the prejudice of the Testator's true

Succeſſors : So many good Subjects begin greatly to fear, that we may chance ſhortly to ſee a third Teſtament of Her Maſteſty, for the entitling *Huntingdon's*, and extirpation of King *Henry's* Blood, and that before her Maſteſty can think of Sickneſs, wherein I beſeech the Lord I be not a Prophet. But now Sir to the aforeſaid Will and Teſtament of King *Henry* : I have not often heard in truth that the thing was counterfeit, or at the leaſt, not able to be proved, and that it was diſcovered, rejected, and defaced in Queen *Mary's* time ; but I would gladly underſtand what you Lawyers eſteem and judge thereof.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot be denied, but that in the 28th and 29th years of King *Henry's* Reign, upon ſome Doubt and Irreſolution which the King himſelf ſhewed to have for the order of Succeſſion in his own Children, as alſo for taking away all occaſions of controverſies in thoſe of the Blood, the whole Parliament gave authority unto the ſaid King to debate and determine thoſe matters himſelf, together with his learned Council who beſt knew the Laws of the Realm, and Titles that any Man have thereby ; and that whatſoever Succeſſion His Maſteſty ſhould declare as moſt right and lawful, under his Letters Patents ſealed, or by his laſt Will and Teſtament rightfully made, and ſigned with his own Hand, that the ſame ſhould be

be received for good and lawful. Upon pretence whereof soon after King *Henry's* death, there was a Will shewed, with the King's Stamp at the same, and the Names of divers Witnesses, wherein as hath been said; the Succession of the Crown after the King's own Children, is assigned to the Heirs of *Frances* and *Elleanor*, Neices to the King by his younger Sister; which Assignment of the Crown (being as it were a meer Jest in prejudice of the elder Sisters, who were omitted in the same Assignment, and their Heirs intituled only) was esteemed to be against all Reason Law and Nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and sage a Prince as King *Henry* was known to be; but rather, either the whole forged, or at leastwise that Clause inserted by other, and the King's Stamp set unto it after his Death, or when His Majesty lay now past Understanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers most evident Reasons and Proofs. For first, it is not probable, nor credible that King *Henry* would ever go about, against all Law and Reason, to disinherit the Line of his eldest Sister, without any Profit or Interest to himself, and thereby seeing that in such a case of manifest and apparent wrong in so great a matter, the Authority of the Parliament taketh little effect against the true and lawful Inheritor, as well appeared in the former times, and Contentions of *Henry* the VIth, *Edward* the IVth, and *Richard*

the III. in whose Reigns the divers and contrary Parliaments made and holden against the next Inheritor, held no longer with any Man, than until the other was able to make his own Party good. So likewise in the Case of King *Edward* the III. his Succession to *France* in the Right of his Mother, though he were excluded by a General Assembly, and Consent of their Parliaments, yet he esteemed not his Right extinguished thereby, as neither did other Kings of our Countrey that ensued after him. And for our present Case, if nothing else should have restrained King *Henry* from such open Injustice towards his eldest Sister, yet this Cogitation at least would have stayed, that by giving Example of supplanting his eldest Sister's Line by vertue of a Testament, or pretence of Parliament, some other might take occasion to displace his Children by like Pretence. As we see that Duke *Dudley* did soon after by a forged Testament of King *Edward* the VIth: So ready Scholars there are to be found, which will easily learn such Lessons of Iniquity. Secondly, there be many Incongruities and Indignities in the said pretended Will, to proceed from so learned a Council, and such a Prince as King *Henry* was: For first, what can be more ridiculous than to give the Crown to the Heirs of *Frances* and *Elianor*, and not to any of themselves? Or wherein had they offended that their Heirs should enjoy
the

the Crown in their Right and not themselves. What if King *Henry's* Children should have died all, whilst the Lady *Frances* had been yet alive? Who should have possessed the Kingdom before her, seeing her Line was next? And yet by this Testament she could not pretend herself to obtain it, but rather having married *Adrian Stookes* her Horse-keeper, she must have suffered her Son by him (if she had any) to enjoy the Crown, and so *Adrian* of Serving-Man and Master of Horses, should have become the Great Master and Protector of *England*. A little Absurdity is that other Clause also, wherein the King bindeth his own Daughters to marry by consent and direction of his Council, or otherwise to lose the benefit of their Succession; but yet bindeth not his Neices Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of *Frances* and *Elianor* (if they had any) to any such Condition. Thirdly, there be divers Causes and Arguments alledged in Law why this intended Will is not authenticall, if otherwise, it were certain that King *Henry* had meant it. First, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended only to give Authority for Declaration, and Explanation of the true Title, and not for Donation, and intricating of the same to the ruine of the Realm. Secondly, for that there is no lawful or authenticall Copy extant, but only a bare Inrollment in the

Chancery, which is not sufficient in so weighty an Affair; no Witnesses of the Privy Council, or of the Nobility to the same, which had been convenient in so great a Case, for the best of the Witnesses therein named is Sir *John Gates*, whose miserable Death is well known, no publick Notary, no Probation of the Will before any Bishop, or any lawful Court for that purpose, no examination of Witnesses or other things orderly done, for lawful authorizing of this matter. But of all other things this is most of Importance, , That the King never set his own Hand to the aforesaid Will, but his Stamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when he was past remembrance: As the late Lord *Paget* in the beginning of Queen *Mary's* days, being of the Privy Council, first of all others discovered the same of his own accord, and upon meer motion of Conscience; confessing before the whole Council, and afterwards before the whole Parliament, how that himself was privy thereunto, and partly also culpable, being drawn thereunto by the instigation, and forcible Authority of others, but afterwards upon other more godly motions, detested the device, and so of his own free Will very honourably went and offered the discovery thereof to the Council. As also did Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord Chief Justice, that had been privy and present at the said doings, and one *William Clark*, that was

was the Man that put the Stamp unto the Paper and is adscribed. Amongst other pretended Witnesses, confessed the whole Premises to be true, and purchased his Pardon for his Offence therein. Whereupon Queen *Mary* and her Council presently caused the said Inrollment lying in the Chancery to be cancelled, defaced, and abolished. And sithence in Her Majesty's days that now liveth, about the 11th or 12th Year of her Reign (if I count not amiss) by occasion of a certain little Book spread abroad at that time very secretly, for the advancing of the House of *Suffolk* by pretence of this Testament. I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Winchester* which then was Treasurer, the old Earls of *Pembroke* and *Arundel* who are now dead, with my Lord of *Pembroke* that yet liveth, as also my Lord of *Leicester* himself (if I be not deceived) with divers others, met together about this matter, and after long conference about the fore-said pretended Will, and many Proofs and Reasons laid down why it could not be true or authenticall, the old Earl of *Pembroke* protesting that he was with the King in his Chamber from the first Day of his Sickness, until his last Hour, and thereby well assured the falsification thereof. At length it was moved, that from that place they should go with the rest of the Nobility and Proclaim the Queen of *Scotland* Heir apparent in *Cheapside*;

side ; wherein my Lord of *Leicester* was then as forward (as I take it) as any Man else ; howbeit now for his Profit he be turned aside, and would turn back again to morrow next for a greater Commodity. And albeit for some Causes to themselves best known, they proceeded not to the open Publishing of their determination at that time, yet my Lord of *Pembroke* now living can bear witness that thus much is true ; and that his Father the old Earl told him openly at that time before the other Noblemen, that he had brought him to that Assembly and Place to instruct him in that truth, and to charge him to witness the same, and to defend it also with his Sword if need required after his Death. And I know that his Lordship is of that Honour and Ability, that he cannot leave off easily the remembrance, or due regard of so worthy an Admonition. And this shall suffice for the second Impediment imagin'd to proceed of this supposed Testament of King *Henry* the VIII. As for the third Impediment of Religion, it is not general to all, for that only one Person (if I be not deceived) of all the Competitors in King *Henry's* Line, can be touched with Suspicion of deficient Religion from the present State of *England* ; which Person notwithstanding (as it is well known) while she was in Government in her own Realm of *Scotland*, permitted all Liberty of Conscience, and free exercise of Religion to those of the contrary Profession and Opinion, without restraint. And if she

she had not, yet do I not see either by prescript of leave, or practise of these our times, that diversity of Religion may stay just Inheritors from enjoying their due possessions in any state or degree of private Men, and much less in the claim of a Kingdom, which always in this behalf is preferr'd by privilege. This we see by experience in divers Countries and parts of the World at this day, as in *Germany*, where, amongst so many Princes, and so divided in Religion as they be, yet every one succeedeth to the Estate where he hath Right without resistance for his Religion. The example also of her Majesty that now is, and of her Sister before is obedient, who being known to be of two different Inclinations in Religion, and the whole Realm divided in opinion for the same cause, yet both of them at their severall times with general consent of all, were admitted to their severall Inheritances, excepting only a few Traitors against the former, who withstood her Right, as also in her the Right of her Majesty that is present, and that not for Religion, as appears by their own confession after, but for Ambition and desire of Reign. Monsieur, the King's Brother, and Heir of *France*, as also the World knoweth it well accepted, favour'd, and admitted for Succession of that Crown by all the Protestants at this day in that Country, notwithstanding his opinion in Religion
known

known to be different. And I doubt not but the King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde* on the contrary part would think themselves greatly injur'd by the State of *France*, (which is different from them in Religion at this day) if after the death of the King that now is, and his Brother, without Issue (if God so dispose) they should be debarr'd from inheriting the Crown, under pretence only of their Religion. My Lord of *Huntingdon* himself also, Is he not known to be of a different Religion from the present state of *England*? And that if he were King to morrow, he would alter the whole Government, under condition and state of Religion now us'd in the Realm? But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole Family, or of divers Families be culpable, or to be touch'd herein, what have the rest offended thereby? Will you excuse all for the mislike of one and descend in order of the thing. The King of *Scotland* her Son, that next ensuing to King *Henry's* Loins after her Majesty may be touch'd in this point, yet why should the rest be damnify'd thereby, to speak in equity why should he be shut out for his Religion? Are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose descent is consequently by Nature, Order and Degree?

For the young King of *Scots* (quoth I) the truth is, that always for my own part, I have had great hope and expectation of him

him, not only for the conceit which commonly Men have of such Orient Youths born to Kingdoms, but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his Education was in all Learning, Princely Exercises; and instructions of true Religion under pure and vertuous Men for that purpose; whereby I concerted hope that he might not only become in time, an honourable and profitable Neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospel in these parts of the World; but also if God should deprive us of her Majesty without Issue, might be a means by his Succession to unite in Concord and Government the two Realms together, which heretofore hath been fought by the price of many thousand Men's Blood, and not obtain'd. Marry yet now of late, I know not by what means, there is begot in Men's hearts a certain mislike and grudge against him, for that it is given out every where, that he is enclin'd to be a Papist, and an Enemy to her Majesty's proceedings, which argues him verily of singular ingratitude, if it be true, considering the great helps and protections which he hath receiv'd from her Majesty ever since he was born.

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) to believe every report that you hear of this matter? Know you not that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leicester* and his Faction, that this youth above all other be held in perpetual disgrace with her

her Majesty and with this Realm? You know that *Richard* of *Glocester* had never been able to have usurp'd as he did, if he had not first perswaded King *Edward* the IV. to hate his own Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke stood in the way between *Richard* and thing he most of all coveted, that is, the possibility of the Crown, and so in this case is there the like to be observ'd. For truly for the young King of *Scots*'s Religion it is as evident to as many as have reason, that it can be no other of it self, but enclin'd to the best, both in respect of his Education, Instruction, and Conversation with those of true Religion, as also by his former Actions, Edicts, Government and private Behaviour he hath declar'd. Marry these Men whose Profit is nothing less than that he or any other of that Race should do well, do not cease daily by all secret ways, drifts and molestations possible, either to drive him off our Religion, or else to incur the suspicion thereof with some of our Realm, that otherwise would be his best Friends, or if not this, for very need and fear of his own Life, to make recourse to some other Princes abroad, as may most offend and mislike this State. And for this cause, they suborn certain busy Fellows of their own Crew and Faction, pertaining to the Ministry of *Scotland* (but unworthy of so worthy a Calling) to use such insolence toward their King and Prince, as is not
only

only indecent but intolerable. For he may do nothing but they will examine and discuss the same in open Pulpit. If he goes out or hunting when it pleaseth them to call him to their Preaching; if he make but a Dinner or a Supper, when or where or with whom, they like not; if he receive but a couple of Horses, or other Present from his Friends or Kinsmen beyond the Seas; if he saluteth or useth courteously, or Man or Messenger which cometh from them; (as you know Princes of their Nobility and Courtesy are accustom'd to do, tho' they come from their Enemies, as often hath been seen and highly commended in her Majesty of *England*) if he deal familiarly with any Ambassadour which liketh them not; and finally, if he say or signify any one thing whatsoever that pleaseth not their humour, they will presently, as seditious Tribunes of the People, exclaim in Publick, and stepping to the Pulpit (where the word of God ought only to be preach'd) will excite the Commonalty to discontentation, and enveighing against their Sovereign with such bitterness of Speech, irreverent Terms, and insolent Controllments, as is not to be spoken. Now imagin what her Majesty and great Council would do in *England* if such proceedings should be us'd by the Clergy against them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that such unquiet Spirits should be punish'd in our Realm,

Realm, and so I said of late to their most
 worthy and reverend Prelate and Primate
 the Arch-Bishop of St *Andrews* (with
 whom it was my luck to come acquainted
 in *London*, whither he was come by his
 King's appointment, as he said, to treat
 certain Affairs with our Queen and Coun-
 cil ;) and talking of this disorder of his
 Ministry , he confess'd the same with
 much grief of Mind, and told me, that
 he had preach'd before the King himself
 detesting and cursing the heads thereof,
 for which cause he was become very odi-
 ous unto them, and other of their Faction,
 both in *Scotland* and *England*. But he
 said, that he had given the reason of his
 doings unto our Queen, so meaneth he
 shortly to do to Monsieur *Beza* and the
 whole Church of *Geneva*, by sending thi-
 ther the Articles of his and their doings,
 protesting unto me, that the proceedings
 and attempts of these factious and corrupt
 Men were most scandalous, seditious,
 and perillous, both to the King's Person,
 and to the Realm ; being sufficient in-
 deed to alienate the young Prince from
 all affection to our Religion, when he
 shall see the chief Professors thereof to
 behave themselves so undutifully towards
 him.

That is the thing which those Men his
 Competitors most desire, (quoth the Gen-
 tleman) hoping thereby to procure him
 most evil Will and Danger both at home
 and from *England*. For which cause also,
 they

they have practis'd so many Plots and Treacheries with his own Subjects against him, hoping by that means to bring the one in distrust and hatred with the other, and consequently the King in danger of distraction by his own Subjects. And in this machination they have behav'd themselves so dextrously, so covertly us'd the meaning and contriving thereof, and so cunningly convey'd the execution of so many things, as it might indeed seem apparent to the young King, that the Plot of Treasons against his Realm and Person doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into Jealousy of our State, and our State of him, and all this for their own profit; neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leicester*, to draw Men for his own gain into danger and hatred with the State under other pretences. For I would tell you divers stories and stratagems of this running in this kind, and the one scarce different from the other in device, but yet all to one end. I have a Friend yet living that was toward the old Earl of *Arundel*, in good credit, and by that means had occasion to deal with the late Duke of *Norfolk* in his chiefest Affairs, before his Troubles. This Man is wont to report strange things from the Duke's own mouth of my Lord of *Leicester's* most treacherous dealing towards him for the gaining of his Blood as after appear'd, albeit the Duke when he reported the same, mistrusted not my

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Lord's malice therein. But the sum of all is this in effect, That *Leicester* having a secret design to pull down the said Duke, to the end, that he might have no Man above himself to hinder him in that which he most desir'd, by a cunning device drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, which afterward was the cause or occasion of his ruin, and he behav'd himself so cunningly and dextrously in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and intrapping him on the other, as few as himself never play'd his part more cunningly; when he supp'd with his Master, and set himself so near as he dipp'd his Spoon in the same Dish, and durst before others ask who should betray him, meaning that night to do it himself, as he shew'd soon after Supper, when he came as a Captain with a Band of Conspirators, and with a courteous kiss deliver'd his Person into the hands of them whom he well knew to thirst after his Blood. The very like did the L. of *Leicester* with the Duke of *Norfolk* for the Art of Treason, tho in the Parties betray'd there were great difference of Innocency; namely, when her Majesty was at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, and the Duke attending there to have audience, with great indifferency in himself, to follow or leave off his suit for Marriage (for that he began now to suspect that her Majesty liked not greatly thereof) my Lord of *Leicester* came to him, and counselled him

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him in any case to persevere and not relent, assuring with many Oaths and Protestations, that her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himself would seal that purpose with his Blood: Neither was it to be suffered that her Majesty should have her will therein; with many other Speeches to this purpose, which the Duke repeated again then presently to my said Friend, with often laying his Hands upon his Bosome, and saying, I have here which assureth me sufficiently of my Love of *Liecester's* fidelity, meaning not only the foresaid Speeches, but also divers Letters which he had written to the Duke touching that effect, as likewise he had done to some other persons of more importance in the Realm; which matter coming afterwards to light, he couzen'd most notably her Majesty, by shewing her a reform'd copy of the said Letter, for the Letter itself. But now how well he performed his promise in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke, or against the Duke, in this matter, her Highness can best tell, and the event itself best shewed. For the Duke being admitted soon after to her Majesty's Speech at another place, and having received a fair other answer, than he had in hope conceited upon *Leicester's* promises, retired himself that night to *London*, where the same night he received Letters both from *Leicester* and Sir *Nicholas*

las Throgmorton upon *Leicester's* instigation, (for they were at that time both Friends and of a Faction) that he should presently fly into *Norfolk*, as he did, which was the last and final compliment of all *Leicester's* former devices, whereby to plunge his Friend over the Ears in suspicion and disgrace, in such sort as he should never be able to draw himself out of the Ditch again, as indeed he was not, but died in the same. And herein also you see the subtilty of that *Machiavelian* flight, which I mentioned before, of driving Men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incur danger, or remain in perpetual suspicion and disgrace. And this practice he hath long used, and doth daily against such as he hath will to destroy. As for Example, what say you to the device he had of late to entrap his well deserving Friend, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* the Priest, whom he would have sent away and hid, being touched and detected in the case of *Ardent*, thereby to have drawn in Sir *Christopher* himself, (as Sir *Charles Candish* can well declare, if it please him) being accessory to this Plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Christopher*: To which intent the most Devilish drift pertaineth (I doubt not) if the matter were duly examin'd, of the late interception of Letters at *Paris*, from one *Aldred* of *Lyons*, than in *Rome*, to *Henry Umpton*, Servant to Sir *Christopher*, which Letters, Sir *Christopher*,
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is reported to be of such Credit, and especial favour at *Rome*, as if he were the greatest Papist in *England*. What meaneth also these late pernicious dealings against the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a Man of the most antient and worthiest Nobility of our Realm? What mean the practises which his nearest both in Bed and Blood against him? What mean the most false and scandalous rumours cast abroad of late, of his disloyal demeanour towards her Majesty, and his Country with the great Prisoner committed to his charge? Is all this to any other end, but only to drive him to some impatience, and thereby to commit or say something, which may open the Gate to his ruin? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other Noblemen of the Realm, who live abroad in their Countries, much injured and malecontented by his insolency, albeit in respect of his present Power, they dare not complain. And surely it is strange to see, how little account he maketh of all the antient Nobility of our Realm, how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them, which is the fashion of all such as mean to Usurp, to the end, that they may have none who shall not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

Not only Usurpers (quoth the Lawyer) but also others who rise and mount aloft from base Lineage, be ordinarily most contemptuous, contumelious and insolent, against others of more Antiquity. And this was evident in this Man's Father, who being a Buck of the first Head, (as you know) was intolerable contemptuous of others, as appeareth by those whom he trod down of the Nobility in his time, as also by his ordinary Jestts against the Duke of *Somerset*, and others. But amongst other times, sitting one day at his own Table (as a Counsellour told me that was present) he took occasion to talk of the Earl of *Arundel*, whom he then had not only removed from the Council, but also put into the Tower of *London*, being as it is well known, the first and chiefeft Earl of this Realm. And for that the said Earl shewed himself somewhat sad, and afflicted with his present State (as I marvel not, seeing himself in Prison, and within the compass of so fierce a Bears Paws) it pleased this goodly Duke to vaunt upon this Earl's Misery at his own Table; and asked the Noblemen and Gentlemen there present, what Crest or Cognifance my Lord of *Arundel* did give, and when everyone answered, that he gave the *White Horse*, I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great Cause, for as the white Palfrey when he standeth in the Stable and is well provendred, is proud and fierce
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and ready to ~~leap~~ upon other Horses Backs, still neighing and prancing, and troubling all that stand about him; but when he is once out of his hot Stable, and deprived a little of his Ease and fat feeding, every Boy may ride and master him at his Pleasure: So is it (quoth he) with my Lord of *Arundel*, whereat many marvelled that were present, to hear so insolent a Speech pass from a Man of Judgment, against a Peer of the Realm cast into Calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seen that which I did afterward, which was the most abject and base Behaviour of the said Duke to the same Earl of *Arundel*, at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London*, when this Earl was sent to apprehend, and bring him up as Prisoner; how he fell down on his Knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earl to be a good Lord unto him, whom a little before he had so much contemned and reproached: You might have said that himself might as well be compared to this *white Palfrey* as the other: Albeit in this I will excuse neither of them both, nor almost any other of these great Men, who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous Fortunes, as they are easily led to condemn any Man, albeit themselves be most contemptible of all others, whensoever their Fortunes begin to change. And so will my Lord of *Leicester*

be also no doubt at that day, though now in his Wealth he triumphs over all, and careth not whom or how many he offend or injure.

Herein I believe you (quoth the Scholar) for we have had sufficient Trial of my Lord's fortitude in Adversity; his base and abject behaviour in his last Disgrace about his Marriage, well declareth what he would do in a matter of more Importance. His favouring and flattering of them whom he hath most his servile Speeches, his feigned and dissembled Tears, are all very well known. Then Sir *Christopher Hatton* must needs be enforced to receive at his hands the great and honourable Office of Chamberlainship at *Chester*, for that he would by any means resign the same unto him, whether he would or no, and made him provide not without his Charge, to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after well appeared; for that the present Pang being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the *Italian* Proverb, of such as in Danger make Vows to Saints *Scampato ill Periclo, gabbato il Sancto*, the Danger escaped, the Saint is deceived. Then and in that Necessity, no Men of the Realm were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlain deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer living; to whom at a certain time he wrote a Letter in all Fraud and false Diffimulation, and caused the same to be

be delivered with great Cunning, in the sight of Her Majesty, and yet so as it shewed a Purpose that it should not be seen, to the end, her Highness might the rather take occasion to call for the same and read it, as she did: For Mrs. *Frances Howard*, to whom the Stratagem was committed, played her Part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, near the Door of the Withdrawing Chamber, he then coming from Her Majesty; and to draw the Eye and Attention of Her Majesty the more unto it, she let fall the Paper before it touched the Lord Treasurer's Hands, by that occasion brought her Highness to call for the same; which after she had read, and considered the Stile, together with the Metal and Constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent, Her Majesty could not but break forth into Laugh, ter, with detestation of such absurd and abject Dissimulation, saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present, *My Lord, believe him not, for if he had you in the like Case, he would play the Bear with you, though at this present he fawn upon you never so fast.* But, now Sir, I pray you go forward in your Speech of *Scotland*, for there I remember you left off, when by occasion we fell into these Digressions.

Well (quoth the Gentleman) to return again to *Scotland* from whence we have digressed, most certain and evident it is to all the World, that all the Broils, Troubles

Troubles and Dangers procured to the Prince in that Country, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that Title in our Realm, do proceed from the drift and com-plott of these Conspirators; which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domestical and foreign, temporal and of Religion, must needs infer great Jeopardy also to Her Majesty's Person, and present Reign that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the Aspirors Ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more, by the nearness of their desired Prey. For as Soldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furnisht City, are most fierce and furious when they have gotten and beaten down the Bulwarks round about; and as the greedy Burglarer, that hath pierced and broken down many Walls to come to a Treasury, is less patient of stay, stop and delay, when he cometh in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some Partition of Wainscoat or the like, betwixt his Fingers and the Coffers or Money-Bags: So these Men when they shall see the Succession of *Scotland* extinguished, together with all Friends and Favourers thereof, which are now to Her Majesty as Bulwarks, Walls, and great Obstacles to the Aspirers, and when they shall see only Her Majesty's Life and Person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery Desires, (for they make little account of all other Com-

Competitors by King *Henry's* Line) no doubt but it will be them a great prick and spur to dispatch her Majesty also; the nature of both Earls being consider'd; whereof the one killed his own Wife (as hath been shewed before) only upon a little vain hope of Marrying a Queen; and the other being so far blinded, and born away with some furious fume, and most impotent itching humour of Ambition, and his own Mother when she was alive seem'd greatly to fear his Fingers, if once the matter should come so near, as her Life had but only stood in the way. For which cause the good Old Countess was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might dye before her Majesty (which happily was granted her) to the end, that least by standing in her Sons way (whom she saw to her grief furiously bent to wear a Crowns there might some dangerous extremity grow to her by that means, and if his own Mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty at his hands, and his Companions hands, when she only shall be the sole obstacle, of all their unbridled and impatient desires.

Clear it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearness of Aspirers to the Crown, endangereth greatly the present possession as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers Examples if need were. For when *H. Bullengbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, saw not only *Richard* the II. with-

without Issue, but also, *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, that should have succeeded in the Crown, to be slain in *Ireland*, though before, as he thought, he meant, not to Usurp, yet seeing the possibility, and near cut that he had, was invited therewith to lay hands on his Soveraigns Blood and Dignity, as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, that he never meant the Murther of his Nephews, until he saw their Father dead and themselves in his own Hands, his Brother also Duke of *Clarence* dispatch'd, and his only Son and Heir the Earl of *Warwick* within his own power. Wherefore seeing it hath not pleased God Almighty, for causes to himself best known, to leave unto this noble Realm any Issue, by her most excellent Majesty, it hath been a point of great Wisdom, in my Opinion, and of great safety to her Highnesses Person, State and Dignity, to preserve hitherto the Line of the next Inheritors by the House of *Scotland*, (I mean both the Mother and the Son) whose deaths have been so diligently sought by the other Competitors, and had been long e're this atchiev'd, if her Majesty's own Wisdom and Royal Clemency, as is thought, had not been placed, principally upon the conservation thereof, from time to time, with Princely Providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a greet safety and Fortrefs to her Majesty, not only against the claimes, aides and an-

annoyments of Foreign Princes, who will not be so forward to advance Foreign Titles, whilst so manifest Heirs remain at home, nor yet so willing in respect of Policy to help that Line to possession of the whole Island, but also against practises of Domestical aspersions, as you have shewed; in whose affairs, no doubt but these two Branches of *Scotland* are great Blocks, as also special Bulworks to her Majesty's Life and Person, seeing, as you say, these Companions make so little of all other, of that Line who shall ensue by order of succession. Marry yet of the two, I do think the Youth of *Scotland* to be of much more importance to be made away, both for that he may have Issue, and is like in time to be of more ability for defence of his own Inheritance; as also for that he being once dispatch'd, his Mother should soon ensue by one slight or other, which they would devise, unwilling to her Majesty. Albeit I must needs confess, that her Highness hath used most singular Prudence for the prevention thereof, in placing a Testament with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peer of our Realm, as the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, whose Fidelity and Constancy being nothing pliable to the other Faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cause the World seeth how many fundry and divers devices they have used daily to slander and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his committed Charge. To

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himself, as though he had conceived some deep matter in his Head, and after a little pause he began to say as followeth. I cannot truly but marvel, when I compare some things of this Time and Government, with the doings of former Princes Progenitors to her Majesty, namely, of King *Henry* the VIIth, and King *Henry* the VIIIth, who had so vigilant an Eye to the collateral Line of King *Edward* the IVth, by his Brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all peril. As may well appear by the Execution of *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to the said Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his Sister, Countess of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her Son, by whose Daughter the Earl of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were Executed for avoiding of inconveniencies, and that at such times when no eminent danger could be much doubted by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same House and Line: of more Ability and Ambition, than ever any of his Ancestors were, maketh open Title and Claim to the Crown, with Plots, Packs and Preparations in most manifest Usurpation, against all Order, all Law, all rightful Succession, and against a special Statute provided in
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that behalf, yet is he permitted, born out, favoured, and friended therein, and no Man so hardy in defence of her Majesty and Realm to control him for the same. It may be that her Majesty is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of *Huntington's* Fidelity, as *Julius Caesar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his dearest obliged Friend, of whose ambitious practices and aspiring, when *Caesar* was advertised by his careful Friend, answer'd, *That he well knew Brutus to be Ambitious, but I am sure (quoth he) that Brutus will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while Cæsar liveth, and after my death, let him shift for the same among others as he can.* But what ensued? Surely I am loath to tell the event for annimations false, but yet all the world knoweth, that before many Months pass'd, this most noble and clement Emperor was most pittifully Murthered by the same *Brutus* and his Partners in the publick Senate, when he least of all suspected such Treason. So dangerous a thing it is to be secure in a matter of so great sequel, or to trust them with a Mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest by his death. Wherefore, would God her Majesty in this case might be induced to have such a due care and regard of her own State and Royal Person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth, which containeth the bliss and calamity of so noble and worthy a Kingdom

as this is. I know right well, that most excellent natures are always farthest off from difference in such people as profess Love, and are most bound by duty, and so it is evident in her Majesty. But yet surely this confidence, so commendable in other Men, is scarce allowable oft times in Princes, for that it goeth accompanied with so great peril, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect, principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the special hand he holdeth over Princes affairs, or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same. We know that the forenam'd Emperor *Cesar*, had not only the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to Usurpation, but even the very day when he was going towards the very place of his appointed destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole Treason, with request to read the same presently, which he upon confidence omitted to do. We read also of *Alexander* the Great, how he was not only forbidden by a Learned Man to enter into *Babylon* whither he was then going, for that there was Treason meant against him in the same place, but also that he was foretold of *Antipater's* mischievous meaning against him in particular. But the young Prince having so well deserv'd force of *Antipater*, could not be brought to distrust the Man that was so
near

near unto him, and by that means was poyson'd at a Banquet by three Sons of *Antipater* that were most of credit and confidence in the King's Chamber.

Here truly my Heart did somewhat tremble with fear, horror and detestation of such events, and I said unto the Gentleman, I beseech you, Sir, to talk no more of those matters, for I cannot well abide to hear them nam'd, hoping in my Lord, there is no cause nor ever shall to doubt the like in *England*, especially from these Men who are so much bounden to Her Majesty, and so forward in seeking and pursuing of all such as may be thought to be dangerous to Her Majesty's Person, as by sundry late executions we have seen, and by the punishment every way of Papists we may perceive.

True it is (quoth the Gentleman) that Justice hath been executed upon divers of late, which contenteth me greatly, for the terror or restraint of others, of what Sect or Religion soever they be, and it is most necessary doubtless for the repressing of Parties, that great vigilancy be used in that behalf. But when I consider that only one kind of Men are touch'd herein, and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust and watch is of them alone, without reflection of the Eye to any other Mens doings and designments: When I see the double diligence, and vehemency of certain Instruments which I like not, bent wholly to raise wonder and admiration to the People, fear, terror and at-

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tention to the doings, sayings or meanings of one part, or Faction alone, and of that, namely, and only with these Conspirators esteem'd for most dangerous and opposite to themselves. I am, believe me, often tempted to suspect Frauds and false measures, and that these Men deal as Wolves in other Countries are wont to do by nature, which going together in great numbers to assail a Flock of Sheep by night, do set some one or two of their Company upon the Wind-side of the Fold afar off, who partly by their scent and other brustlings, which of purpose they make, do draw the Dogs and Shepherd to pursue them alone, whilst the other do enter and slay the whole Flock; or as Rebels that meaning to surprize a Town, to turn away the Inhabitants from consideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter, do set on fire some other part of the Town further off, and do sound a false Alarm at some Gate where is meant least danger; which Art was us'd cunningly by *Richard* Duke of *York* in the time of *K. Henry* the VI. when he, to cover his own intent, brought all the Realm in doubt of the doings of *Edmond*, Duke of *Somerset's* Enemy; but *John* of *Northumberland*, Father to my Lord of *Leicester*, us'd the same Art much more skilfully, when he put all *England* in amaze, and musing of the Protector and his Friends, as tho' nothing could be safe about

about the young King until they were surpriz'd, and consequently all brought into his own Authority without obstacle. I speak not this to excuse Papists, or to wish them any ways spar'd, wherein they do offend, but only to signify that in a Country where so potent a Faction be, it is not safe to suffer the one to make it self so puissant by pursuit of the other, as afterward the Prince must remain at the devotion of the Stranger, but rather as in a Body molested, and troubl'd with contrary humours, if all cannot be purged, the best Physick is, without all doubt, to reduce and hold them at such an equality, as destruction may not be fear'd of the predominant.

To this the Lawyer laughing reply'd, yea, marry Sir, I would to God your opinion might prevail in this matter, for then should we be in other terms than now we are. I was not long sithence in company of a certain, honourable Lady of the Court, who after some speech pass'd by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended, some executed, and such like Affairs, broke into a great complaint of the present times, and therewith I assure you, mov'd all the Hearers to grief, (as we Men you know are potent in stirring of affections) and caus'd them all to wish that her Majesty had been nigh to have heard her words. I do well remember (quoth she) the first dozen years of her Highness's Reign, how happy, how

pleasant and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of Factions in Religion, neither was any Man much noted or recited for that cause, if otherwise his conversation were civil and courteous: No suspicion of Treasons, no talk of Bloodshed, no complaint of Troubles, Miseries or Vexations, all was Peace, all was Love, all was Joy, all was Delight; her Majesty, I am sure, took more recreation at that time in one day, than she doth now in a whole week, and we that served her Highness, enjoy'd more contentation in a week, than we can now in divers years. For now there are so many suspicions every where for this thing, and that as we cannot tell whom to trust, so many melancholy in the Court, that seem malecontented, so many complaining and suing for their Friends that are in trouble, other slip over the Sea and retire themselves upon the suddain, so many tales brought up of this or that danger, of this Man suspected, of that Man sent for up; and such like unpleasant and unsavory stuff, as can never almost be merry one whole day together. Wherefore, (quoth this Lady) we, that are of her Majesty's Train and especial Service, do not only feel these things in our selves, but much more in the grief of her Majesty, whom we see daily molested herewith, being one of best Natures I am sure, that ever noble Princess was endued withal; we cannot
but

but moan to behold Contentions so far forth advanced as they are, and we could wish most heartily, that for the time to come, these matters might pass with such Peace, Friendship and Tranquility, as they do in other Countries, where difference in Religion breaketh not the Band of good Fellowship, or Fidelity, and this in a smiling manner she spake of, asking Pardon of the Company, if she had spoken over boldly her Opinion like a Woman, To whom answered a Courtier that sat next her, Madam, Your Ladyship hath said nothing in this Behalf, that is not daily debated amongst us in our common Speech in Court, as you know; Your Desire also herein is a publick desire if it might be brought to pass; for there is no Man so simple that seeth not how perillous these Contentions and Divisions amongst us may be in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen that are learned, discourse at large upon the Argument, alledging old Examples of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*; who received notable Dangers, and Destruction also in the end by their Divisions and Factions among themselves, and specially from their own Cities and Countries, who upon Factions lived abroad with Foreigners, to carry home the Flame of War upon their own Countries. The like they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy*, which by

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their Factions and Divisions, were in continual Garboyl, Bloodshed and Misery: Whereof our own Country hath tasted also her part, by the odious Contention between the House of *Lancaster* and *York*; wherein it is marvellous to consider, what Troubles, a few Men oftentimes departing out of the Realm, were able to work by the part of their Faction, remaining at home (which commonly increaseth towards them that are absent) and by the readiness of foreign Princes to receive also, and comfort such as are discontented in another State, to the end, that by their means, they may hold an Oar in their Neighbour's Boat, with Princes that be nigh Borderers, do always, above all other things most covet and desire. This was the Courtiers Speech and Reason, whereby I perceived, that as well amongst the Court, as amongst us abroad in the Realm, and Countrey, the present Inconvenience, and dangerous Sequel of this our Home-dissention is espied, and consequently most *English* Hearts, inclined to wish the Remedy and Prevention thereof, by some reasonable Moderation and Re-union amongst ourselves. For that the Prosecution of those Differences too extreemly, cannot but after many Wounds and Exulcerations, bring matters finally to Rage, Fury and most deadly Desperation. Whereas on the other side, if any sweet Qualification, or small Toleration amongst us were admitted,

mitted, there is no doubt but that Affairs would pass in our Realm, with more Quietness, Safety and publick Weal, of the same, than it is like it will do long; and Men would easily be brought, that have *English* Bowels, to joyn in the Preservation of their Countrey, from Ruine, Bloudshed, and foreign Oppression, which Divisions and Factions are wont to procure.

I am sure of your Opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seen the Experience thereof, and all the World beholdeth the same at this Day: In all the Countries of *Germany*, *Polonia* and *Hungary*, where a little fearing of the one with the other hath wrought them much ease, and continued them in Peace, whereof all *Europe* besides hath Admiration and Envy. The first douzen Years also of Her Majesty's Reign. whereof the Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well be a Witness of the same, where in the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certain sweet diligence for their gaining by good means, was the cause of much Peace, Contentation and other Benefit to the whole Body. We see in *France* that by over much pressing of one part only, a Fire was kindled not many years ago, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole, had not a necessary mollifica-
tion been used, and thought upon by the wisest of the King's Council, full contrary

or Modifi-
cation.

to the Will and Inclination of some great Personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other: And since that time we see, what Peace, Wealth, and Re-union hath ensued in that Countrey, that was so broken, dislevered and wasted before: And all this by yielding a little in that thing, which no Force can master, but uxulcerate rather, and make worse, I mean the Conscience, and Judgment of Men in matters of Religion. The like also I could name you in *Flanders*, where (after all these Broils of so many Years, caused principally by too much striving in such Affairs at the beginning) albeit the King be never so straight-laced in yielding to publick Liberty, and free Exercise on both parts, yet is he descended to this at length, and that upon force of Reason, to abstain from the pursuit and search of other Men's Consciences, not only in the Towns which upon Composition he receiveth, but also where he hath recovered by Force, as he hath in *Tournay*, and other Places; where I am informed, that no Man is searched, demanded, or molested for his Opinion or Conscience; nor any Act of Papistry, or contrary Religion, required at their hands, but are permitted to live quietly to God and themselves in their own Houses, so that they perform, otherwise that outward Obedience, and Duties toward their Prince and Countrey which they should do. Which only Qualification,

cation, Toleration, and Moderation in our Realm (if I be not deceived with many more of my mind) would content all Divisions, Factions, and Parties amongst us, for their continuance in Peace; be they Papists, Puritans, Familiars, or *or Famili-* whatsoever nice difference or Section be-*lists.* fides, and would be sufficient to retain all Parties within a temporal Obedience to the Magistrate and Government, for conservation of their Country, which were of no small importance to the contentation of Her Majesty, and Weal publick of the whole Kingdom. But what should I talk of this thing, which is so contrary to the Desires and Designments of our puissant Conspirators? What should *Cicero* the Senator, use Perswasions to Captain *Cataline*, and his Crew, that Quietness and Order were better than Hurleyburlies? Is it possible that our Aspirers will ever permit any such Thing, Cause or Matter to be treated in our State, as may tend to the Stability of Her Majesty's present Government. No surely, it standeth nothing with their Wisdom and Policy, especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their own Actions in Her Majesty's Name, under the Vizard and Pretext of her Defence, and Safety, having screwed in every Man's Head both abroad and at home, from *Scotland, Flanders, Spain and Ireland*, so many intended Murthers, and others so many contrived
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and conceived Milchiefs, as my Lord of *Leicester* assureth himself that the troubled Water cannot be clear again in a short space, nor his Baits nor his Lines laid therein easily espied; but rather that hereby, ere long he will catch the Fish he gapeth so greedily after, and in the mean time, for the pursuing of these Crimes, and other that he will daily find out, himself must remain perpetual Pictator. But what meaneth this so much inculcating of Troubles, Treasons, Murthers, and Invasions? I like not surely those ominous Speeches, and as I am out of doubt, that *Leicester*, the Caster of these Shadows, doth look to play his part first in these troublesome Affairs: So do I heartily fear that unless the Tyranny of this *Leicestrian* Fury be speedily stopped, that such Misery to Prince and People (which the Lord for his Mercies sake turn from us) as never greater fell before to our miserable Country, is far nearer hand than is expected or suspected. And for prevention of these Calamities, I plainly tell you my Opinion (good Friends) and therefore to draw to an end of this our Conference, (for it waxeth late) I would think it the most necessary Point of all, for Her Majesty to call his Lordship to account amongst others, and to see what other Men could say against him at length, after so many years of his sole accusing and pursuing others. I know and am very well assured,
that

that no one Act which Her Majesty hath done since her coming to the Crown (as She hath done many most highly to be commended) nor any that likely Her Majesty may do hereafter, can be of more utility to her self, or to her Realm, or more grateful to her faithful and zealous Subjects, than this noble Act of Justice would be, for Trial of this Man's Deserts towards his Country. I say it would be profitable to Her Majesty and the Realm, not only in respect of the many Dangers before mentioned which are like to ensue most certainly if his Courses be permitted still; but also for that Her Majesty shall by this deliver her self from that general Grudge, and Grief of Mind, with great dislike, which many Subjects otherwise most faithful have conceived against the excessive Favour shewed to this Man so many Years without Desert or Reason. Which Favour he having shewed, and used to the hurt, annoyance, and oppression of infinite several Persons, and the whole Commonwealth, as hath been said, the Grief thereof doth redound commonly in such cases, not only upon the Person delinquent alone, but also upon the Sovereign, by whose Favour and Authority he offereth such Injuries, though never so much against the others Intent, Will, Desiring, and Meaning. And hereof we have Examples of fundry Princes in all Ages, and Countries, whose exorbitant Favour
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to some wicked Subject that abused the same, hath been the cause of great danger and ruine, the sins of the Favourites being returned and reveng'd upon the Favourer. As in the History of the *Grecians* is declared by the occasion of this pittiful Murder of that wise and victorious Prince, *Philip* of *Macedon*, who albeit he were well assur'd to have given no offence of himself to any of his Subjects, and consequently fearing nothing, but conversed openly and confidently amongst them, yet for that he had favour'd too much one Duke *Attalus*, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had born him out in certain of his wickedness, or at least not punish'd them after they were detected and complain'd upon, the Parties griev'd, accounting the Crime more proper, and heinous on the part of him, who by office shoul do Justice, and protect others, than of the Perpetrator, who follow'd his own passion and sensuality; let pass *Attalus*, and made their revenge upon the Blood and Life of the King himself, by one *Pausonias* suborn'd for that purpose on the Marriage day of the King's own Daughter. Great store of like examples might be repeated out of the Stories of other Countries, nothing being more usual or frequent amongst all Nations than the afflictions of Realms and Kingdoms, and the overthrow of great Princes and Potentates themselves by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular

lar persons. A thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seem to be the speciallest rock of all other whereat Kings and Princes do make their Shipwreck. For if we look into the States and Monarthies of all *Christendom*, and consider the ruines that have been of any Prince or Ruler in the same, we shall find this point to have been a great and principal cause thereof. And in our own State and Country, the matter is too to evident; for whereas since the Conquest we number principally their just and lawful Kings which have come to confusion by alienation of their Subjects (that is *Edward* the II. *Richard* the II. and *Henry* the VI.) this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the expressive favour towards * *Peter Gaveston*, and two of the *Spencers*; *commonly* and in the second, the extraordinary and *Peires*. indifnary, and in discreet affection towards *Robert Dere*, Earl of *Oxford*, and *Marquess of Dublin*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked Men that set themselves against his own Uncles and the Nobility; the third being a simple and holy Man, albeit no great exorbitant affection was seen towards any, yet his Wife, *Queen Margaret's*, too much favour and credit to the *Marquis of Suffolk* that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked Counsel she made away first the noble Duke of *Gloucester*,
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and afterwards committed many other things in great prejudice to the Realm, and suffer'd the same most impious and wicked Duke to range and make havock of all sorts of Subjects at his pleasure, much after the fashion of the Earl of *Leicester* now tho' not set in so high and extream a degree. This I say was the principal and original cause both before God and Man, (as *Polidore* well noteth of all the calamity and extream desolation which after ensued both to the King, Queen and their only Child, with the utter extirpation of their Family,) and so likewise now to speak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or grief at this day any dislike, any repining, complaint or murmur against her Majesty's Government, in the hearts of her true and faithful Subjects, who wish amendment of that which is amiss, and not the overthrow of that which is well, (as I know it were no wisdom to imagin there were none at all) I dare avouch upon Conscience, that either all or the greatest part proceedeth from this Man, who by the favour of her Majesty so afflicteth her People as never did before, either *Gaveston*, *Spencer*, *Dere*, *Mowbray*, or any other mischievous Tyrant, that abuseth most his Prince's favour within the Realm of *England*, whereby it is evident how profitable a thing it would be to the whole Realm in Common, how honourable to her Majesty, and how grateful to all her
Subjects

Subjects, if this Man at length might be call'd to his account.

Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) you alledge great Treason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majesty did know but the tenth part of this which you have here spoken, as also her good Subjects desires and complaint in this behalf, she would well shew that her Highness fear'd not to permit Justice to pass upon *Leicester*, or any other within her Realm, for satisfaction of her People, howsoever otherwise of her own mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, she have born with him hitherto; for so we see that wise Princes can do at times convenient, for Peace, Tranquility and publick Weale, tho contrary to their own particular and peculiar Inclination. And to go no farther than to the last example named and alledged by your self before, tho Queen *Margaret*, the Wife of King *Henry* the VI. had favour'd most unfortunately many years together *William de la Poole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, whereby he committed many foul outrages, and afflicted the Realm by sundry means; yet she being a Woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Commonalty demand Justice upon him for his demerits, albeit she liked and loved the Man still, yet for satisfaction of the People upon so general a complaint, she was contented first to commit him to Prison, and afterwards to banish him the Realm. But the Providence

dence of God would not let him so escape, for he being encountred and taken upon the Sea in his passage, he was beheaded in the Ship, and so receiv'd some part of condigne punishment, for his wicked, loose, licentious Life. And to seek no more examples in this case, we know into what favour and special grace Sir *E. Dudley*, my Lord of *Leicester's* good Grandfather, was crept with King *Henry* the VII. in the latter end of his Reign, and what intolerable wickedness and mischief he wrought against the whole Realm, and against infinite in particular persons of the same, by the prowlings oppressions which he practised, whereby, tho the King receiv'd great Temporal Commodity at that time, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all by the present extortions of his Nephew) yet for Justice sake and meer Compassion towards his afflicted Subjects, that complain'd grievously of his Iniquity, that most virtuous and wise Pr. King *Henry*, was content to put from him this lewd Instrument, and divelish Suggestor of new exactions, whom his Son *Henry* that succeeded in the Crown, caused presently, before all other businesses, to be called publickly to account, and for his deserts to lose his Head; so as the interest of a whole Realm or Common Cause, of many taketh place: The private favour of any cannot stay a wise and godly Prince, such as all the World knoweth her Majesty to be, from permitting Justice to have her free passage.

Truly

Truly it should (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration do Subjects pay them both Tribute and Obedience, to be defended by them from Injuries and Oppressions, and to see Laws executed, and Justice exercised, upon and towards all Men with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of *Leicester*, I do not see in Right and Equity, how her Majesty may deny this lawful Desire and Petition of her People. For if her Highness do permit and command the Laws duly to pass upon Theives and Murderers without exception, and that for one fact only, as by experince we see, how then can it be deny'd in this Man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts than may well be recounted. As in the first of Theft, not only by spoiling and oppressing of infinite private Men, but also whole Towns and Villages, Corporations and Countries, by Robbing the Realm by inordinate Licences, by deceiving the Crown, by raking, changing and imbezling the Lands, in abusing the Prince and Sovereign, in selling her favour both at home and abroad, with taking Bribes for matter of Justice, Grace, Request, Supplication, or whatver suit else that dependeth upon the Court, or of the Princes Favour or Authority, with putting to sale and making open Market of whatsover her Majesty can give, do or procure, be it Spiritual or Temporal : In

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which sort of Traffick, he commiteth more Theft in one day, than all the Way-keepers, Cut-purses, Cozeners, Pyrats, Burglaries, or other of that Art in a whole year within the Realm. And as for the second, which is Murther, you have heard somewhat said before and proved, but yet nothing to that which is thought to have been in secret committed upon divers occasions, at divers times, in fundry Persons of different Calling in both Sexes, by most variable means of Killing, Poysoning, Charming, Enchanting, Coniving, and the like, according to the diversity of Men, Places, Opportunities and Instruments for the same. By all which means, I think he hath more Blood lying upon his Head at this day crying for vengeance against him at Gods hands and her Majesty's, than ever had private Man in our Country before, were he never so wicked. Whereunto now if we add his other good behaviour, as his intolerable Licentiousness, in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all sorts of Wives, Friends and Kinswomen; if we add his injuries and dishonours done hereby to infinite; if we add his Treasons, Treacheries and Conspiracies about the Crown, his disloyal behaviour and hatred against her Majesty, his ordinary lying, and common perjuring himself in all matters for his gain, both great and small, his Rapes and most violent Extortions upon the Poor, his abusing of the Parliament

ment, and other places of Justice, with the Nobility and whole Commonalty besides. If we add also his open injuries which he offereth daily to Religion, and the Ministers thereof, by Tything them and turning all to his own gain, together with his manifest and known Tyranny practised towards all Estates abroad throughout all Shires of the Kingdom: His dispoiling of both Universities, and discouraging of infinite notable Wits there, for seeking perfection of Knowledge and Learning, which otherwise were like to become notable, especially in God's word, which giveth life unto the Soul; by defrauding them of the price and reward propos'd for their Travel in that kind, through his unsatiabable symonatical contracts: If I say we should lay together all these enormities before her Majesty, and thousands more in particular, which might, and would be gathered, if this day of Tryal were but in hope to be granted, I do not see in Equity and Reason, how her Highness sitting in Throne, and at the Royal Stern, as she doth; could deny her Subjects this most lawful request, considering that every one of these crimes a part requireth Justice of his own nature, and much more altogether, ought to obtain the same at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World. No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations, must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and

much more with her excellent Majesty, whose tender Heart towards her Realm and Subjects, is very well known to all Men. It is not to be thought also but that her Highness hath her intelligence of divers of these matters alledged, tho not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty do? Perhaps the consultation of this affair, is not what were convenient, but is expedient, not what ought to be done in Justice, but what may be done in Safety. You have describ'd my Lord before to be a great Man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events, what if it be not convenient to bark at the Bear that is so well——
I speak unto you but that which I hear in *Cambrige* and other places, where I have passed, where every Mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choice to do what her self best listeth in that case at this day.

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leicester's* Friends give out every where; that her Majesty now is their good Lords Prisoner, and that she will, and must be directed by him for the time to come, except she will do worse; which thing his Lordship is very well contented should be spread abroad and believed, for two causes; the one to hold the people thereby more in awe of himself than of their Sovereign; and secondly, to draw her Majesty indeed by degrees to fear him. For considering with himself what he
hath

hath done, and that it is impossible in truth that ever her Majesty should love him again, or trust him after so many Treacheries, as he well knoweth are come to her Majesty's understanding, but by terror and opinion of his puissant greatness, whereby he would hold her Highness and the Realm in Thraldom, as his Father did in his time before him, and then for that he well remembreth the true saying of *Cicero* in his Offices: *Malus custos diuturnitatis metus*, he must provide shortly that those that fear him, be not able to hurt him, and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of King *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extreamly, for that he had cut off his two Unkles Heads, and the Duke took order that he should never live to revenge the same. For it is a settled rule of *Machiavel* observed by the *Dudley's*, that where you have done once great injury, there must you never forgive. But I will tell you my Friends, and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I speak herein, and am privy to the Estate of my Lord in this behalf, and of Mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realm; most certain it is that he is strong by the present favour of the Prince, in respect whereof he is admitted also for chief Patron of the *Huntingdon* Faction, tho' neither lov'd, nor greatly trusted for the same, but let her Majesty once turn her Countenance aside from him in
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good earnest, and speak but the word only that Justice shall take place against him, and I will undertake, with gaging both my Life, and little Land that God hath given me, that without Stir or Trouble, or any Danger in the World, the Bear shall be taken at Her Majesty's Hand, and fast chained to a Stake, with Muzzel, Cord, Collar, Ring, and all things necessary, so that Her Majesty shall bait him at her Pleasure, without all danger of biting, breaking loose, or any other Inconvenience whatsoever. For you must not think that this Man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realm, but by violence, and that only upon Her Majesty's Favour, and Countenance towards him: He hath not any thing of his own, either from his Ancestors or of himself to stay upon: In Men's Hearts and Conceits, he hath not ancient Nobility as others of our Realm have, whereby Men's Affections are greatly moved; his Father *John Dudley* was the first Noble of his Line, who raised and made himself big by supplanting of others, and by setting Debate amongst the Nobility: As also his Grandfather *Edmund* a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Pettifogger, enriched himself by other Men's Ruines, both of them condemned Traytors, tho' different in Quality, the one being a Cozener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conjoined, conclosed and comprised, with many more Additions in this Man (or Beast rather) which is *Robert* the Third of their Kindred and Kind; so that from his Ancestors this Lord receiveth neither Honour nor Honesty, but only Succession of Treason and Infamy. And yet in himself hath he much less of good wherewith to procure to himself Love or Credit amongst Men, than these Ancestors of his had, he being a Man wholly abandoned of humane Vertue, and devoted to Wickedness, which maketh

maketh Men odious both to God and Man. In his Father no doubt there were to be seen many excellent good Parts, if they had been joined with Faith, Honesty, Moderation and Loyalty; for all the World knoweth that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberal, and assured friendly where he once promised; of all which vertues, my Lord his Son hath neither shew nor shadow, but only a certain false Representation of the former; being crafty and subtil to deceive, and ingenious to Wickedness; and as for Valour, he hath as much as a Mouse, his Magnanimity, is base Sordity, his Liberality Rapine, his Friendship plain Fraud, holding only for his Gain and not otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand Oaths, of which he maketh as great account, as Hens do of cackling, but only for his Commodity; using them especially in greatest number, when he meaneth to deceive; namely, if he swear solemnly by his *George*, or by the *Eternal God*, then be sure it is a false Lie, for these are Observations in the Court, and sometimes in his Lodging: In like case his manner is to take up and swear by the *Bible*, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemed to follow him (as many do that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space he observed him wittingly and willingly to be forsworn Sixteen times. This Man therefore so contemptible by his Ancestors, so odious of himself, so plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the Country, and not trusted of his own dearest Friends, nay, (which I am privy to) so disliked and hated of his own Servants about him, for his beastly Life, Niggardize and Atheism, (being never yet seen to say one private Prayer within his Chamber in his Life) as they design nothing so much in the World,

World as his Ruine, and that they may be first to lay hands upon him for Revenge. This Man I say so broken within, and without, it is impossible that Her Majesty and wise Council should fear; I can never believe it. Or if it be so it is God's permission without all doubt for Punishment of that his Wickedness and Sin, which is both rooted in, and rested on him; so that when this Man shall perceive indeed they fear him, then will he handle them accordingly, and play the Bear indeed; which Inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent: And so I leave it to God and them, craving Pardon of my Lord of *Leicestr* for my boldness, if I have been too plain with him. And so I pray you let us go to Supper, for I see my Servant expecteth yonder at the Door of the Gallery to call us down.

To that (said the Lawyer) I am content with all my heart, and I would it had been sooner, for that I am afraid least any by chance have over-heard us here since Night. For mine own part I must say, that I have not been at such a Conference this seven years, or mean to be hereafter, if I may scape well with this; whereof I am sure I shall dream this Fortnight; and think oftner of my Lord of *Leicester*, than ever I had intended, God amend him and me both. But if ever I hear at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quack-breech, and think every Bush a Boggle.

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Leicester, Robert Dudley of, 1532-1588 / Leicester, Robert Dudley <<of>>, /
Drake, ...

Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester Prim Minister and
Favourite of Queen Elizabeth With a Preface by Dr. Drake

London 1706

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